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CAN THE LIBERAL ARTS TRADITION SURVIVE?*

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THE president of the Rockefeller Foundation, Raymond B. Fosdick, recently said that our schools, colleges, and universities have a dual rôle in this war—"that of serving the war effort and secondly, that of preserving the treasures of the spirit which we hold in trust from the past for the benefit of the generations to come." I think no one will deny the obligation of our higher institutions of learning in supporting the war. In the First World War of 1914-18 the colleges of England and America made a magnificent contribution, and they are doing so again. Indeed, in our country they are being so strongly pressed to provide technically trained men for the armed forces and for war industry that I fear many persons including those in high government places have lost sight of this second duty Mr. Fosdick speaks about—that of preserving alive for future usefulness the learning of the past, the humanities and the pure sciences. This is the subject that I wish to discuss, and in particular I have chosen to consider the question, "Can the Liberal Arts Tradition Survive?"

It takes no great amount of imagination to understand that the colleges and universities of America are now fighting for their very existence. I do not need to tell you that the attack comes not only from the exigencies of the war (I mean the need for drafting younger men, the absorption of faculty members into the war effort, and the wholesale taking over of educational facilities for War and Navy Department use), but also in a more insidious war from the enemies of the liberal arts tradition.

I wish to sketch some of the difficulties that have beset the liberal arts colleges since the war began, to describe, if I can, the harm that has been done. Then I want to touch upon the bright side of the picture, if I can find it, and point out some positive benefits which I believe will accrue as a result of the war. And finally, I want to suggest the possibilities for usefulness of our liberal arts colleges in the postwar world.

I

I regret that I cannot present to you a precise account of what is happening in the educational world. I doubt if anyone can. I think, though, that teachers still on college campuses will tell you that "upheaval" and "revolution" are mild words to describe the way the war has invaded the campus. Furthermore, it has been over two years now since I sat in a classroom and complained, as teach-

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ers are wont to do, of being overworked and underpaid. I can assure you, however, that if teaching was a form of slavery some thirty months ago, I would dearly love to go back to it now!

Let me review briefly some of the recent war events as they have adversely affected the educational world:

1. Considering loss of the students who have volunteered and those 18-to-20-year-olds that have been inducted, the enrollment of all colleges has been sharply cut. Likewise a very great proportion of faculty members have gone into the armed services or into war industries.
2. There has been a corresponding decrease in the number of courses offered especially in liberal arts subjects like the languages (excepting a few), philosophy, literature, history, political science, economics, and psychology. On the other hand, certain subjects have been oriented to the immediate aim of the war. I mean, of course, subjects like mathematics, physics, chemistry, engineering, and the preprofessional courses for medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy.
3. This shift of emphasis, which a technological war dictates, has necessitated a huge supply of new teachers for those newly important subjects. Friends whom I knew before the war as specialists in classical rhetoric, English phonetics, and dramatic production have now become sudden teachers of trigonometry, meteorology, and the theory of flight. Considering the nonscientific temperaments of these friends of mine, I pity the poor teachers who are making the conversion over to the war models! But this is war, and amazing changes do transpire!
4. These events have meant that the whole educational generation between the ages of 16 and 24 has been profoundly upset. Most boys will get only a smattering of college work, a year or two at most, before being sent to a training center. The young men left behind in the colleges are those still too young and those physically or emotionally unsuited for military training. Only in the women's colleges and the coeducational institutions having a large percentage of women students, has this war let liberal arts courses continue. Yet even in the women's colleges there has been a pronounced trend toward technological subjects.
5. Aside from the decline of enrollments, however, and from the decrease of courses, the small liberal arts colleges are being attacked from within the educational world. I refer to the movement inaugurated by President Hutchins of the University of Chicago to grant the Bachelor's degree after two years of college study. President Hutchins boasts that the war is playing into his hands. One of his most vigorous and articulate critics, President W. H. Cowley of Hamilton College, believes that if "a dozen leading universities over the country should join Mr. Hutchins in granting the bachelor's degree at the end of the Sophomore year, the small college will face a calamitous situation; the majority of them will be forced into the status of junior colleges, and the rest will have to fight for their lives either as three-year institutions granting the Master's degree or as five-year institutions granting the Bachelor's degree at the end of two years and the Master's degree after three more years. Under such an arrangement, only a handful of very, very small colleges will be able

to survive since the vast majority of students will leave college for graduate and professional schools when they receive their two-year Bachelor degree and only a Lilliputian fraction will continue on for three more years in order to earn Masters' degrees."

The few points I have just enumerated represent the barest sketch of what I believe has happened in recent months in our colleges and universities. Practically everywhere, of course, so-called accelerated programs by which degrees may be secured in three years or even less, have been in effect. And practically everywhere the decline of income from tuition and the uncertainty of government contracts have seriously affected the financial outlook of endowed institutions.

II

Let us turn then to what shows on the other side of the ledger. What possible good effects has the war done for the liberal arts colleges?

1. First of all, I firmly believe that the present critical inspection of the liberal arts colleges will ultimately have far-reaching effects for good. The proponents of the liberal arts tradition have been forced to state their case in terms of real analysis and not of mere sentiment. This re-examination of the functions of the liberal arts colleges has focused attention anew upon the eternal problem in every age of what makes an educated man. In August, 1941, the American Council on Education set up a special committee to serve as a clearing house for all problems relating to higher education caused by the war. The committee was headed by President Day of Cornell. It included Presidents Conant of Harvard, Sproul of the University of California, and Dykstra of Wisconsin. President Cowley of Hamilton was chosen to represent the liberal arts colleges. His minority report is an extremely persuasive statement of the value of the small college in our national life. Incidentally, last April the Carnegie Corporation made a grant of $5,000 to President Cowley to enable him to conduct the research necessary to publish a book on the present and the future of the liberal arts college in American life. It will, I am confident, throw new light in a definitive way on the subject. Presidents Cowley, Conant, and McBride of Bryn Mawr—to name a few educational leaders—are convinced that the end of the war will bring a great revival of interest in the liberal arts. They think that the skills of the technologies will not begin to solve the problems of a postwar world, "that men and women must be disciplined and educated through the arts and humanities to seek truth, that civilizations cannot expand, or even exist, unless the generations to come understand moral values."

2. This restatement of the need of the liberal arts college I think in the long run will mean better teachers, better teaching methods, and better ways of selecting students who can profit by liberal arts subjects. I believe that both the liberal arts curriculum and the liberal arts colleges ten years hence will be vastly better than they are today. For one thing, a great many poorly managed, ill-equipped small colleges cannot survive the present war. Those that survive will be the stronger ones.

3. Further, the writings and speeches of leaders like President Dodds of Princeton, Walter Lippmann, and Wendell Willkie have highlighted the vital need for an adequate supply of broadly educated men in the critical months following the war's end. President Dodds has said succinctly: "The Hitler heresies are confirming us anew in the belief that attention to technology must not lead our

nation to neglect the values of the will and the spirit to which a liberal arts edution is directed."

4. Perhaps the most interesting phase of American higher education lies just ahead. President Hutchins refers to this era as the phase of education by contract. He describes the plan in these terms: "Institutions are supported to solve problems selected by the government and to train men and women selected by the government, using a staff assembled in terms of requirements laid down by the government." The immediate application of the plan started last April when nearly 400,000 American boys between 17 and 21 were given an aptitude test devised by the College Entrance Examination Board. Those who attained high rank are being offered a college education sponsored by the Army or the Navy. Nearly 500 colleges and universities have been approved by the War and Navy Departments for the operation of this experiment in publicly financed higher education.

5. Next, and of tremendous importance, America has become the repository of the learning and scholarship of the rest of the world. The great libraries of Europe, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Bibliotheque Nationale, are damaged, ruined, or closed. Or, as in Germany and the occupied countries, the books which Dr. Goebbels distrusts have been burned. I do not think we Americans fully realize or begin to appreciate the great treasure-houses we have in the Library of Congress, and the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, the Widener Library of Harvard, or the Huntington Library in California.

In addition to our wealth of great libraries and research laboratories, we have in our midst the greatest of the world's refugee scholars and scientists. To mention a single supporting fact, during the past ten years 131 leading European mathematicians have migrated to the United States. America is now the world center of mathematical learning. In the last annual Rockefeller Foundation report we read that these refugee scholars are today making "an extraordinary contribution to America's war effort."

This brief survey of the heritage we have acquired should make us proudly aware of the responsibility and trusteeship that American higher education owes to the rest of the world. Much is expected of us in the solution of the tremendous problems of the postwar world. Much will be thrust upon us because there is nowhere else to turn for help and guidance. The leadership we can lend, and not the money, in the anxious months and years after the armistice will determine the course of world events for the next generation and perhaps for the remainder of the twentieth century.

III

This leads to the final aspect of my subject. You recall I said I wanted to suggest the possibilities for usefulness of our liberal arts colleges in the postwar world. It is not at all too early to consider this problem, because it is inseparable from the problem of drawing up the peace and of administering it. In his stirring address at the University of California a few weeks ago Archibald MacLeish prophetically remarked that the future is America's to make.

> It is not our future, as a few Americans have asked us to believe, to master or exploit. . . . It is ours to shape, not because we have many planes or great numbers of ships or rich industrial resources but for a different reason; because we have the power as a people to conceive so great a future as mankind must now conceive—because we have behind us a tradition of imagination in the people.

Let me continue just a moment and

quote the poet MacLeish's beautiful description of the American:

> A restless man. A great builder and maker and shaper, a man delighting in size and height and dimensions: the world's tallest; the town's biggest. . . . A man naturally hopeful. . . . Foremost of all, a restless man and a believing man, a builder and maker of things and of nations.

It is a mistake to assume that an enduring peace will come from winning the war. Only the opportunity to shape a lasting peace naturally follows the winning of a war. The concepts that will emerge with peace must now be studied —and they require the mightiest kind of intellectual endeavor. The soldiers and sailors of the United Nations have every right to expect that our leaders will not let them down in the winning of the peace—and more important still in administering the peace in the difficult reconstruction years. President Roosevelt fittingly pointed out in 1942:

> No soldiers or sailors in any of our forces today would so willingly endure the rigors of battle if they thought that in another twenty years their own sons would be fighting still another war on distant deserts or seas, or in far away jungles or skies.

To come directly to my main contention: The responsibility of those who win and survive this war will not cease with feeding and caring for the sick and the hungry, and with loaning money. If we really want enduring peace we must begin now on a constructive program to share the learning both humane and scientific that fortifies and enriches peace.

How can we prepare for peace? What are the weapons of peace? Obviously, they are not like the weapons of war. In fact, they are not weapons at all. They are philosophical concepts based on understanding, respect, and moral values. If we look back on the happy days of world peace we find at the same time periods of fair dealing, mutual trust, and real willingness to appreciate one another in the family of nations. The formula for peace is understanding. The formula for keeping peace is in providing the leaders in all countries who can honestly and honorably strive to prevent war. Peace and ethics go hand in hand.

Let me quote from Winston Churchill's address of last March 21:

> The future of the world is left to highly educated races who alone can handle the scientific apparatus necessary for preeminence in peace or survival in war. I hope our education will become broader and more liberal. . . . Facilities for advanced education must be evened out and multiplied. Nobody who can take advantage of higher education should be denied the chance. You cannot conduct a modern community except with an adequate supply of persons upon whose education, whether humanitarian, technical, or scientific, much time and money has been spent.

A moment ago I said that the bed-rock foundation of a lasting peace was made up of understanding and harmony among the peoples of the great regions. The supply of leaders which Mr. Churchill mentions must be skilled in the arts of creating understanding and harmony. How then are we to train such leaders? Let us consider what they need to know.

First and foremost, comes the matter of communication. I mean the necessity of knowing languages. In spite of the predominance of English as the leading world language the need will multiply for those who can speak the languages of the conquered nations. We Americans must turn towards the Orient and train our young leaders to speak and to understand Japanese. We must not neglect the language of our great ally, China. We shall need, too, men and women who can speak Russian and the languages of India. Our Good Neighbor program sponsored by Nelson Rockefeller and designed to establish better cultural rela-

tions among the countries of South America has already paid high dividends. The fact that Vice-President Wallace is able to address our South American allies in Spanish has made a profound impression. In the Old World the need for those who can speak French and German, Italian and Spanish will certainly not lessen at the beginning of the peace.

After acquiring languages those young persons in all countries who will have the task of making the peace take root and grow, will need to know the literatures and histories of the peoples in which they will become specialists. The airplane had made this mid-twentieth century world a much smaller place, but paradoxically the need of knowing one's way around is even greater. You will note that I am constantly referring to young persons. I say *young* emphatically because the ideas of peace will most certainly be applied by the generation now fighting the war and their younger brothers and sisters, and not by the generation now directing the war.

IV

If we are to avoid one of the irreparable mistakes after the last world war, we will not try to decide everything for the next twenty-five years within a few weeks after the last gun is fired. We shall not, I hope, plan at once a series of peace treaties. We must have a cooling-off period. Mr. Churchill, for one, has wisely suggested a four-year plan. He thinks this is "the right length for a period of transition and reconstruction which will follow the downfall of Hitler." During this period we would have time to study "five or six large measures of practical character" in preparation for a series of adjusting international agreements.

If such a four-year program is adopted I propose that we use the four years wisely and well. I can think of no plan that offers more possibilities for real peace than the inauguration of a program of international exchange fellowships for promising college students of all countries. A few hundred students a year, carefully selected, and with the highest qualifications of leadership, from each of the other countries of the United Nations and from Germany, Italy, and Japan, would come to America and study in our best liberal arts colleges. Likewise, when the European and Asiatic colleges and universities are in condition to resume their activities they would welcome a proportionate share of American young men and women.

What would be the result? At the end of four years each of the present warring nations would have available for return to home shores a group of prospective leaders of the highest type. They would return with a knowledge of the language, the literature, and the history of the country to which they were accredited. They would return, I hope, with friendship and understanding for the country of their temporary adoption. Our government would have available for use in the Departments of State and Commerce, and in the Commissions for the study of the peace, a reserve of young men and women with practical ideas and convictions on how the peace could and should be constructed and maintained.

But this is not all. In this four-year period we could do much to build the informed public opinion and to erect the frame work for the series of peace discussions that will be needed throughout the world. To be more particular, let us consider the Pacific Theater at the close of the war. If the United States, Australia, Japan, and China could establish what I shall call the Asiatic-Pacific Federation of Universities it would be possible to arrange at institutions designated by the various countries a series of exploratory conferences or discussions. Leaders from the peoples of Asia and the Pacific would

address the groups of fellowship students I spoke about earlier. The students themselves could then carry on further discussions, submit reports, and develop ideas in small international parliamentary student unions. A procedure similar to this has now been successfully carried out for the past twelve years at Princeton University in the School for Public and International Affairs.

I am a great believer in the techniques of public discussion in small enlightened groups. For the solution of the problems of the peace I am convinced we must have free, informed, progressive discussion rather than oratory and debate. Discussion, you recall stems from the Latin verb, *discutere,* meaning "to tear apart" whereas debate comes from a verb meaning literally "to beat down." The peace you and I long to see will not be won by beating down.

Such a plan of exchanging students and arranging conferences would be costly and difficult to administer, you may say. If it will prevent another world conflagration a generation hence, the cost and effort will be small indeed. Besides, we train hundreds of young men a year at our military and naval academies and aviation training centers in the arts of war. Why not train also in the arts of peace?

The suggestion of establishing these International Exchange Fellowships is not especially novel. The germ of the idea perhaps goes back to the Boxer Rebellion when the United States refrained from accepting the indemnity ordered and stipulated that the sum should be used as a scholarship fund for worthy Chinese students to be sent to American colleges. Of course, you are familiar with the operation of the Rhodes scholarship to Oxford University and the Commonwealth fellowship for British students at American universities. At the present time the Russian Government has sent fifteen superior good-will students to Columbia University for the purpose of studying the American way of life.

Perhaps one instance will illustrate the goal I have in mind. The wife of the great Chinese leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, last year successfully completed in America a diplomatic mission of the highest importance. Everywhere she went Madame Chiang was greeted with the greatest respect and attention. Part of this sympathetic reception is explained by the fact that she is a great woman in her own right and that she represents for a great people a thrilling cause. But if you question the average American I am sure you will find him reminding you also that Madame Chiang is a graduate of Wellesley College and that he is inclined to trust her because he understands her and believes her. In her charming way she appeals as an American. She represents the best traditions of our liberal arts colleges.

I return therefore to my central idea: The postwar era will need for its leadership the best minds in every nation to cope with the tremendous issues that will arise. Real statesmanship then as in the past will call for a knowledge of the meanings and responsibilities of such fundamental concepts as justice and injustice, friendship and hatred, truth and nontruth, beauty and ugliness, virtue and nonvirtue. Whoever attempts to manage society in the latter half of the twentieth century is bound to fail without the broadest understanding of what the great thinkers of the past have reflected and written on the state, the church, the family, and man himself

The great and guiding concepts for the conduct of public affairs are still to be found in books like Plato's *Republic,* the *Phaedrus,* the *Gorgias* and in Aristotle's *Politics, Ethics,* and *Rhetoric.* Our debt to the classical writings of ancient

Greece and Rome remains immeasurably high. I do not need to remind you that the glory of the liberal arts curriculum rests on the fact that it teaches us the best of what the best minds have thought and spoken in the past.

The great mission of the liberal arts studies lies ahead. The vital need for the years to come will be for broadly educated men and women. The question, therefore, is not, "Can the Liberal Arts Tradition Survive?" but rather, "Can this whirling Twentieth-Century world long survive without the liberal arts?"

AN EXPERIMENTAL MILITARY SPEECH CORRECTION PROGRAM

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The Program

IN FEBRUARY, 1943, an educational project was initiated to correct the speech of advanced R.O.T.C. cadets in the University of Illinois. The program was to include first, a speech survey of all advanced cadets to discover those needing speech correction; and second, therapy for cadets who needed remedial speech training.

Upon consultation with the Commandant and the Head of the English Department, the purpose of this program was aimed at promoting greater military efficiency through correct speech. With that end in view, it was planned to train the cadets to use distinct, articulate speech for the military classroom and to instruct them in the use of the vocal mechanism in order to have the voice carry commands, yet leave it in good condition after a long period of use. We hoped that this program would help especially those cadets experiencing hoarseness and huskiness during and after giving commands. The cadets were not to receive instruction in the organization of speeches.

The staff for this program included a supervisor, one full-time instructor, one full-time assistant, one two-thirds time assistant, and a stenographer.

Nature of the Survey

Plan for Testing.

Data were to be secured by two ten-minute appointments with each cadet: during the first appointment, personal data, which might help in therapy if that cadet were found to need speech training, were to be obtained (Test 1); during the second appointment, a series of oral performance tests were to be given each cadet (Test 2).

Procedure of Testing.

1. Enrollment: With the cooperation of the Military Department, each advanced R.O.T.C. cadet was registered for his first appointment when he registered for his military courses at the beginning of the semester. During this period of three days, appointments for the next three weeks were made for Test 1.

2. Test 1: One clinician, assisted by three skilled student clinicians, proceeded as follows: The cadet was asked to fill out a Personal Data Sheet which included information on his family, scholastic and military status, speech training,

and speech difficulties experienced in performance of R.O.T.C. duties—such as tired throat, husky voice, articulation, unpleasant quality, and securing attention. Each cadet was given a spirometric and an audiometric test; and then was given an appointment for Test 2.

3. Test 2: a. Two clinicians, seated four rows from the back of the university auditorium (which seats 2,000) gave each cadet, upon entering, the following sheet of instructions:

INSTRUCTION FOR TEST 2

1. Give your name in full.
2. Read page 2 aloud. (Page 2 contained paragraph selected for testing of sounds.)
3. Go to the front of the stage and read selection on page 2.
4. Assume you are talking to a group of new cadets. Explain in full:
   a) Position of soldier, or of attention
   b) About face
   c) Right face
   d) Left face
   e) Right oblique
   f) Salute with the hand
   g) Insignia of rank of commissioned officers
5. Assume you are drilling a group of men. Give them a series of commands.
6. Using the following phrase—CALL JONES NOW—speak to a cadet—
   a) 5 feet from you
   b) 20 feet from you
   c) In the balcony

(Instruction 1 was an approach to the clinicians; Instruction 2, carried out about five feet from the clinicians, tested correctness of sounds; Instruction 3 tested, from a distance, distinctness and carrying power of the voice when not giving commands; Instruction 4 tested the ability of the cadet to explain with clarity, distinctness, adequate volume, and good speech rhythm, one of the military positions common to all cadets in all units; Instruction 5 tested the cadet's vocal power, ease and distinctness, in the issuance of commands; Instruction 6 tested cadet's ability to control his voice when speaking at various distances.)

b. After completion of these tests, the clinicians gave each cadet a joint rating—by means of a five-point scale—on reading, commands, and platform efficiency (whether cadet was alert, prompt, sluggish in performances). The clinicians frequently indicated finer degrees of differentiation by means of plus and minus marks. Later, these ratings were translated into a nine-point scale (Tables 1, 2, 3); '1' indicated an extremely poor rating; '5,' average; '9,' excellent.

c. The cadet was then classified as 'satisfactory' or 'defective.' The 'satisfactory' cadet was one whose speech was considered correct and adequate for military purposes. The 'defective' cadet was one whose speech showed certain defects which needed correction in order to meet the requirements of good speech for military service.

d. If a cadet were found to be deficient in any part of the oral performance tests, he was offered remedial speech training. He had the privilege of accepting or refusing this aid. If he wanted help, he was given a therapy appointment.

4. Recommendations from military personnel: The military officers, who were supplied with recommendation cards, were asked to assist by mailing to the Speech Clinic the names of cadets who were thought to be in need of remedial training. Sixty-two cadets were referred in this manner and were classified as 'recommended' cadets.

5. Clinical time spent on testing: Test 1, which began on February 8, continued for three weeks, from 8 A.M. to 5 P.M. Altogether, 137 hours were spent by one clinician on this test.

Test 2, which began February 9, was not as continuous as the program for Test 1, because the test called for more sustained attention. After February 12, a schedule of testing approximately three hours a day was maintained; the remainder of the day was spent in therapy. This program continued until March 13, at which time the number of testing hours was limited to four hours a week.

Approximately 208 hours were spent by the two clinicians on Test 2.

Results of Testing.

1. Personal Data Sheets revealed the following information about the 682 cadets tested:

a. The cadets were between 17 and 30 years, with the majority in the 20-year group; they came from towns with populations ranging from 2,500 to 35,000, with the majority coming from towns of 2,500; they came mainly from homes of farmers and farm managers, with the smallest per cent coming from homes of laborers; they ranged in scholastic average from 2.5 to 4.97, with the greatest per cent in both the 'satisfactory' and 'defective' groups averaging 3.6; the largest enrollment was from the College of Engineering and the smallest enrollments were from the Graduate School and College of Education. The College of Law ranked first with the greatest per cent of 'satisfactory' cadets; the College of Agriculture ranked first with the greatest per cent of 'speech defective' cadets.

b. Out of the total of 682 cadets tested, 292 indicated they had experienced speech difficulties in the performance of R.O.T.C. duties; 70.2% of the 292 cadets experienced one speech difficulty; 26.2% of the 'satisfactory' group and 35.3% of the 'defective' group indicated one difficulty; 15.4% of the 'defectives' indicated 2 difficulties as compared with 7.2% of the 'satisfactory' group who checked 2 difficulties. The greatest per cent of each group found speech difficulties due to a 'tired throat' or a 'husky voice.'

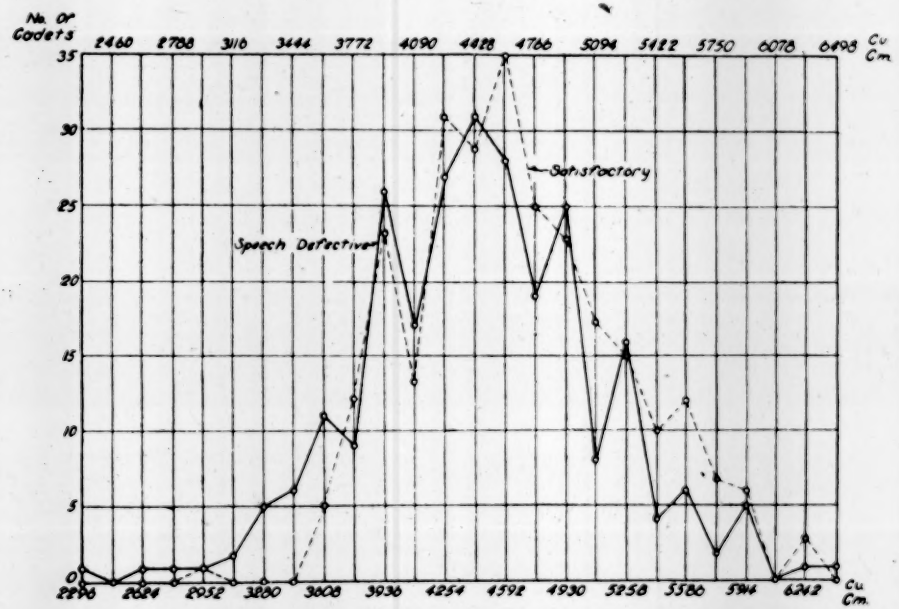

FIG. 1. The vital capacity in cubic centimeters of the satisfactory and speech defective cadets.

c. Previous speech training did not aid the cadets in overcoming their speech difficulties. It is possible that the kind of speech necessary in the performance of R.O.T.C. duties—especially in commands—had not been considered important in previous speech training. Furthermore, no cadet had had more than two speech classes in an institution of higher learning.

d. An average reading taken from three spirometric measurements of each cadet (Figure 1) showed a significant difference between the 'satisfactory' and 'defective' groups. The critical ratio of the difference in mean scores of each group was found to be 3.08. Since a ratio of 3 or more suggests that an observed difference is not due to chance, it can be assumed that the groups studied differed significantly with respect to performance on the spirometer.

e. No relationship was shown between the speech of the 'defective' cadet and loss of hearing (Figure 2).

Comment. Only 3 cases of defective speech could be traced directly to defective hearing. Two cadets with hearing losses in the low frequencies had extremely monotone voices. One cadet, who had a hearing loss of 45.1% (not shown in Figure 2) showed the greatest loss in high frequencies. Therapy in this case included speech reading as well as correction of high frequency sounds.

2. Oral Performance Tests taken by the cadets showed the following results:

a. Out of a possible 712 enrolled R.O.T.C. cadets, 682 were tested; 3.7% of the total number of enrolled advanced cadets did not take the tests because they were not interested, were too busy, or had to leave college.

b. Of those tested, 390 cadets, or 57.2% of the total, were judged by the clinicians to have speech that was 'satisfactory' for military purposes.

Comment. Of these 390 'satisfactory' cadets, 133 had indicated on the Personal Data sheets that they had experienced speech difficulties in performing R.O.T.C. duties. These difficulties were discussed with the cadets. Many who listed a 'tired throat' explained that although they had had that difficulty early in the year, they were now fairly well adjusted to giving commands. Others, who were noticeably 'military' in manner, admitted they were eager to have their speech as perfect as possible for their military duties.

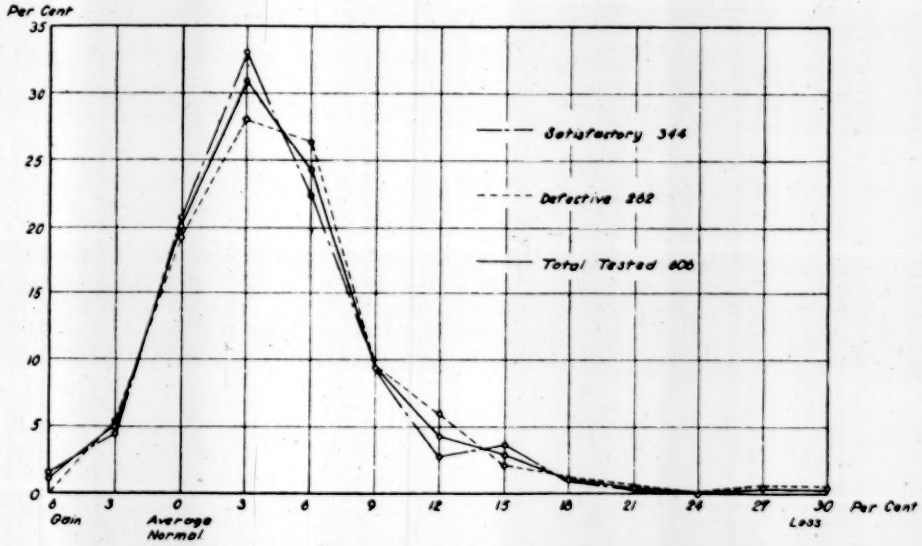

FIG. 2. Cadets' percentage gain or loss from average normal hearing.

c. Of those tested, 292 cadets (not the same 292 who had indicated speech difficulties), or 42.8% of the total tested, were judged to have one or more speech defects that might hinder their general military efficiency, and were classified as 'defective' in military speech. (Tables 1, 2, 3).

TABLE 1. CLASSIFICATION OF CADETS IN TERMS OF READING RATING

Rating	Satisfactory		Defective		Total Tested	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	1[1]	0.3	4	0.4	5	0.7
2			8	2.8	8	1.2
3	11	2.8	59	20.2	70	10.3
4	35	9.0	87	29.8	122	17.9
5	216	55.4	111	38.0	327	47.9
6	59	15.1	11	3.7	70	10.3
7	51	13.1	9	3.1	60	8.8
8	8	2.0	1	0.3	9	1.3
9	9	2.3	2	0.7	11	1.6
Total	390	100.0	292	100.0	682	100.0

[1] The ineffectiveness of this cadet's reading did not carry over into his other performances, which were unusually good.

Comment. The total of 292, or 42.8%, seems high, but the cadets were tested for effectiveness in military speech, which, especially in giving commands, requires a particular control for correct vocal projection. For instance, the cadets knew that the voice must rise on the point of execution in 'commands,' but many found it difficult to project these higher tones without unusual strain in the laryngeal muscles. Consequently, a cadet who was termed a 'speech defective' in this survey might be one who could very readily have passed a less exacting speech test that was designed to test only good conversational speech.

d. In each of the oral performance tests—reading, commands, platform efficiency—the greatest per cent of 'satisfactory' cadets had a rating of 5, which is equal to a scholastic average of C; while the greatest per cent of 'defective' cadets had a rating of 4 (Figure 3).

Comment. Some 'defectives' were given the highest ratings of 7, 8, 9 (Tables 1, 2, 3). This may be explained by the different kinds of defects recorded. For instance, a cadet could receive a very high rating on commands, reading, and general platform efficiency, but could have a defective *s* or *r* or *l*, which would not lower his rating radically, but would still classify him as a 'defective'; or a cadet might be proficient in all performances but might have a slight foreign accent; or he might have a clear voice for commands, might show precision in explanations, but might use a voice that was too high to be pleasant for classroom situations.

e. Among 292 'defectives,' there were 590 speech defects; (Table 4) the number of defects per cadet varied from 1 to 5, the greatest percentage—47.9%—having 2 defects.

f. Of the speech defects, 54.6% were vocal; 38.8% were articulatory; 6.4%

TABLE 2. CLASSIFICATION OF CADETS IN TERMS OF COMMANDS RATING

Rating	Satisfactory		Defective		Total Tested	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1			2	0.7	2	0.3
2			3	1.0	3	0.4
3	5	1.3	53	18.2	58	8.5
4	20	5.2	86	29.4	106	15.5
5	142	36.4	84	28.8	226	33.1
6	68	17.4	33	11.3	101	14.8
7	124	31.8	25	8.6	149	21.9
8	18	4.6	3	1.0	21	3.1
9	13	3.3	3	1.0	16	2.4
Total	390	100.0	292	100.0	682	100.0

TABLE 3. CLASSIFICATION OF CADETS IN TERMS OF PLATFORM RATING

Rating	Satisfactory		Defective		Total Tested	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1			1	0.3	1	0.1
2			4	1.4	4	0.6
3	5	1.3	43	14.7	48	7.0
4	17	4.4	106	36.3	123	18.0
5	186	47.7	102	34.9	288	42.2
6	99	25.4	25	8.6	124	18.2
7	64	16.4	8	2.8	72	10.6
8	11	2.8	1	0.3	12	1.8
9	8	2.0	2	0.7	10	1.5
Total	390	100.0	292	100.0	682	100.0

were rhythmical (Table 4).

Comment. Generally a speech correction survey would show a greater percentage of articulatory defects than vocal. In this survey, a greater per cent of vocal defects might be expected because the clinicians were testing the effectiveness of the cadets' speech for military service. The per cent of stutterers in the R.O.T.C. group is typical of the percentage found in any speech correction survey, amounting to approximately 1% of the total speech defectives.

THERAPY

Methods.

Because therapy was started while testing was continuing, the clinicians began with individual conferences, and then later arranged the cadets into groups.

Although the individual conferences took many clock hours, they were considered valuable, and almost necessary in many cases, especially those of psycho-

TABLE 4. CLASSIFICATION OF SPEECH DEFECTS IN TERMS OF KIND AND NUMBER HANDLED BY EACH CLINICIAN[2]

Kind of Defect	No. of Defects	No. of Defects	No. of Defects	Total Defects
Clinician:	I	II	III	
I Rhythm	7	17	14	38
A Stuttering	4	2	3	9
B Dys-rhythmic	3	15	11	29
II Articulatory	70	53	106	229
A Structural	5	4	0	9
B Physiological	2	2	3	7
C Functional	59	44	100	203
1. Oral Inactivity	17	19	51	87
2. Sound Substitution	16	8	12	36
3. Nasal Speech	26	17	37	80
D Dialectal	4	3	3	10
III Vocal	105	79	139	323
A Structural	1	0	0	1
B Physiological	2	4	3	9
C Functional	102	75	136	313
1. Quality	30	25	60	115
2. Force	33	30	35	98
3. Pitch	39	20	41	100
Total Defects	182	149	259	590

[2] This classification was arranged for this project and consequently does not include linguistic defects, such as aphasia.

logical and organic origin. These conferences were continued until the clinician was sure that the cadet understood his difficulty and the basic principles necessary for the production of a good tone. In addition to the use of models,

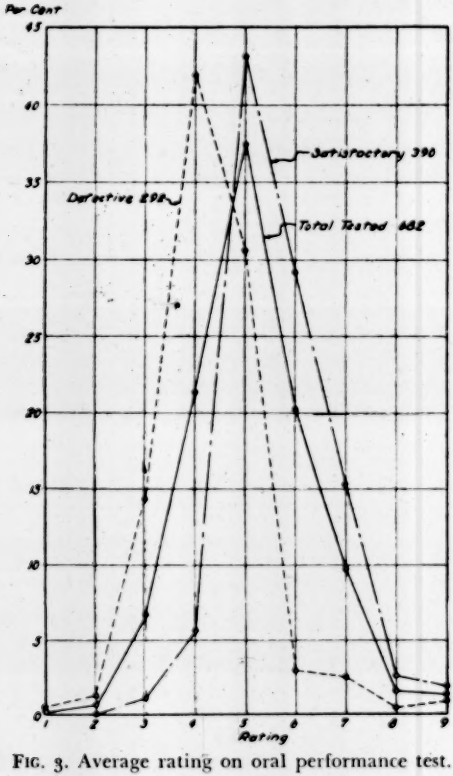

FIG. 3. Average rating on oral performance test.

charts, and diagrams, a colored moving picture (photographed by Dr. Paul Holinger of the University of Illinois College of Medicine) of healthy and pathological vocal cords in action was shown to the cadets. The cadet was made voice conscious as soon as possible by the use of the mirrophone, by a permanent recording of his voice (if he wished it), and by a recording of military commands that had been recorded by an experienced military officer.

Group conferences were held during the last eight weeks of the semester. Five to ten cadets with similar difficulties were classed together. The groups created an esprit de corps that was excellent, possibly due to the informality of the sessions. The cadets were less discouraged after they had a chance to check their improvement with that of another cadet or after they found that the technique used was beneficial to others. Some cadets worked together without the clinician in practice periods—at the armory, golf links, auditorium, or archery field.

Typical techniques employed were:

1. Cadets might start work in groups of two, each checking the other cadet, and at the end of the hour would demonstrate their work to the others in the group.

2. The class might be divided, with half of the cadets remaining at the back of the room, while the other half took 'command' positions at the front of the room. The cadets 'in position' imitated, one at a time, a command given by the leader. After several such routines, the cadets in the back of the room, who were not issuing commands, would replace, one at a time, those cadets in the 'command' group who seemed to be giving the best performance.

3. Whenever a cadet knew he was to give a military classroom demonstration or discussion, as on topics, 'Cleaning a rifle,' 'Poisonous gases,' etc., he was given a preliminary rehearsal before a group of cadets, who criticized his distinctness and phrasing, and his ability to use his voice effectively in a large classroom. The content of his discussion was not altered nor criticized.

Time Spent in Therapy.

The number of individual conferences varied for each cadet; 6 cadets, who had a number of speech difficulties, had from 20 to 32 appointments; 69 cadets had from 10 to 20 appointments; 88 cadets had from 5 to 10 conferences; and 129 had from 0 to 5 conferences. 1,782 appointments (exclusive of recording) were held or 80.7% of the entire number scheduled; 426 conferences were not kept, or 19.3% of the number scheduled.

These appointments varied from 10 to 50 minutes, depending upon the seriousness of the case. The majority of the conferences were from 20 to 30 minutes in length. The classes lasted 50 minutes.

Improvement of Cadets.

The clinicians planned a subjective rating scale of improvement: "no," "some," "good," and "much" improvement. Each clinician, who kept a case card with a record of every therapy appointment, was urged to underestimate the improvement rather than to be too optimistic. The results showed: 5%—"no" improvement; 25.1%—"some" improvement; 38.2%—"good" improvement; 31.7%—"much" improvement.

Dismissal of Cadets.

At the end of the semester 49% of the cadets were still working, showing that improvement had not been great enough in the majority of cases to warrant dismissals, or that cadets wished to continue for additional practice; 9.6% were dismissed because their improvement was satisfactory; 14.7% asked to be dismissed because they were too busy. Other dismissals attributed to lack of interest and irregular attendance were due mainly to the general tension, unrest, and worry, which pervaded the wartime campus.

Suggestions for Improvement of the Program

At the conclusion of the project, the clinicians made the following recommendations:

1. A larger clinical staff should have been employed.
2. The services of a laryngologist should have been secured for laryngeal examinations.
3. The project might have been accelerated if it had been possible for the clinical staff to have met with the cadets and the military personnel to explain the program. Particular attention should have been given to offset false assumptions on the part of the cadet regarding the lowering of military standing by the admission of a speech defect.
4. Time spent in testing might have been shortened. Only 5 minutes were necessary for each test. Moreover, Test 1 might have been eliminated so that only those cadets found deficient in the oral performance tests would have been given further tests. However, the clinicians admitted that they were aided in Test 2 by having a preliminary report of each cadet.
5. If the cadet had been given a chance to enroll of his own accord, the disinterested cadet might have been eliminated earlier.

Conclusion

The project showed the following results:

Preliminary Data.

1. Of the total 682 cadets tested, 42.8% noted that they had experienced speech difficulties in the performance of R.O.T.C. duties. The greatest per cent found speech difficulties due to a 'tired throat' or a 'husky voice.'
2. Previous speech training did not seem to aid cadets in meeting military speech situations.
3. The 'satisfactory' and 'defective' groups differed significantly—with a critical ration of 3.08—in respect to spirometric measurements.
4. No significant relationship was shown between hearing loss and defective military speech.

Oral Performance Tests

1. Of the total 692 cadets tested, 390, or 57.2%, were judged to have speech that was 'satisfactory' for military purposes.
2. Of the total 692 cadets tested, 292, or 42.8%, were judged to have one or more speech defects that would hinder their military efficiency.
3. The 'satisfactory' cadets showed a higher average rating on all oral performance tests than did the 'defective' cadets.
4. A total of 590 speech defects were found among 292 speech defective cadets, or an average of 2 defects per cadet.
5. The range of speech defects varied from 1 to 5 defects per cadet.
6. Of the speech defects, 54.6% were vocal;

38.8% were articulatory; 6.4% were rhythmical.

Therapy

1. The greatest per cent of cadets—38.2%—was judged to have shown 'good' improvement at the end of the semester.
2. The greatest per cent of cadets—49%—continued working until the end of the semester.

ON ASTP, ENGLISH 111

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COLONEL HERMAN BEUKEMA, Director, Army Specialized Training Division, under date of October 11, 1943, has raised questions on the teaching of ASTP English 111 which prompt these comments. It is necessary first, however, to review the description of objectives of English 111 as previously set up by the Army Specialized Training Program. In the statement issued some months ago, the following description was given:

Objectives of the Course.

The end-product of the Army Specialized Training Program is an officer candidate who will, after further specialized training, function effectively in a position of command. He must, therefore:

1. Be a clear thinker.
2. Possess the skill of orderly, concise, and appropriate communication, both oral and written, including the ability to observe and report accurately.
3. Possess the ability to listen and to read understandingly.
4. Know the basic forms of military communication.

In view of the limited time available for instruction in English, it is particularly important that this instruction be reinforced by requiring trainees in all classes to write and speak with deliberation, clearness and correct language.

It is urged that particular attention be paid to the development of the trainees' powers of reasoning, imagination, and communication, especially in relation to the study of American history and institutions by the use of biographies, historical works, and materials having historical content—for purposes of analysis, discussion, and expository writing. This should not be done, however, to the exclusion of poems, short prose articles, and selections from works of notable English and American writers which present the correct native idiom.

The same document then breaks down the *Framework of Instruction* for this course into the following categories:

1. *Reading*
2. *Writing*
3. *Speaking*

Instruction and practice in oral presentation. Development of self-confidence and the ability to think on one's feet. Development of sound habits of brevity, correct pronunciation and enunciation, conciseness of expression, and organization of material. Development of variations in emphasis through correct use of such devices as volume of tone, acceleration and retardation of speed, and the use of the pause. Acquisition of adequate ease and fluency to speak extemporaneously, reasonably free from hesitation, forcefully and pleasingly, and coherently as to sentence and paragraph structure. Elimination of handicaps of speech such as the monotone, undesirable mannerisms and affectations.

Presentations should be so well organized as to impress themselves, in outline, on the listeners' memory. They should be subjected frequently to criticism by the hearers in terms of the speaker's appearance, manner, adequacy, brevity, forcefulness, and organization of material. (See next section)

4. *Listening*

Development of concentration upon spoken remarks and the ability to understand

what is said. Cultivation of ability to concentrate upon speaker's intended meaning and not to be diverted by idiosyncrasies of manner. Development of ability to repeat in listener's own words the context of speaker's remarks.

Instruction in both speaking and listening will be strengthened by frequent panel discussions on current problems.

Clearly, the statement of objectives and the framework of instruction devised for English 111 point sharply to work in oral education.

II

Colonel Beukema, in his recent letter, makes the following statement in paragraph 8 (I pass over the prior paragraphs of his letter):

> Many institutions have regarded the objectives in Speech stated in the English course outline as constituting a different and separate problem from instruction in writing and reading. This has resulted in the introduction into the English course of a large proportion of formal speech instruction. Some institutions devote as much as a third of the course to it. It is not believed, however, that this formal instruction in speech can counteract habits of slovenly thought and expression unchecked in other classes, not to say outside the classroom. It is believed that every recitation in every class, not only in English, should be regarded as an exercise in speech. If the trainee is required to organize his thought and to express it clearly whenever he participates in class discussions, if he is required in speech as in writing to apply the principles of communication he has learned by critical reading, it is believed that very little formal speech instruction will be necessary. It is imperative that soldiers be able to make themselves understood, but they need not be speech-makers. Certainly the time that is devoted to practice in after-dinner speechmaking at some institutions might be used to better advantage.

Although we are requested by the preliminary objectives of the ASTP to conduct work essentially of a speech nature, this paragraph objects to the introduction of "formal speech instruction" into English 111. Now what is "formal speech instruction"? If it is something elocutionary, something declamatory in the bad sense, teachers of speech agree with Colonel Beukema's indictment. But if "formal speech instruction" means the competent conducting of speech classes that has been done for many years by competent speech teachers, then qualified educators will question Colonel Beukema's position. Certainly, devoting one-third of the time in English 111 to speech problems is none too much *if the course objectives are to be realized.*

Speech instruction should be given by teachers trained in speech, just as surely as instruction in mathematics should be given by teachers trained in mathematics. The teacher of speech is best qualified to know the educational procedure for diagnosing speech deficiency cases, and for directing improvement or correction.

When Colonel Beukema asserts, "It is not believed, however, that this formal instruction in speech can counteract habits of slovenly thought and expression unchecked in other classes, not to say outside the classroom," the implication is clear that a teacher of history, or geography, for example, will have the *time* and *enthusiasm* and *training* to produce speech improvement, and even overcome speech deficiencies, in Army students, as well as achieve his own course objectives in history or geography. This position is open to challenge.[1] Obviously, there is no objection to having the teacher of history, or geography interest himself in the speech habits of his students. The history, or geography classroom, however, will not serve successfully as a speech laboratory. "Development of sound habits of brevity, correct pronunciation and

[1] See the article immediately preceding on, "An Experimental Military Speech Correction Program," for educational procedures used in the speech diagnosis and training of students in one typical college military unit. The reader can determine for himself whether teachers of history, geography, or written composition have the time or training for such procedure. ED.

enunciation, conciseness of expression, and organization of material. Development of variations in emphasis through the correct use of such devices as volume of tone, acceleration and retardation of speed, and the use of the pause. . . ." (See ASTP prospectus, BE-16.) Objectives like these are not achieved by casual and random criticism. The setting up of criteria for speech diagnosis and improvement will come from those trained for the task. The Army student is likely to get no more profitable instruction in speech from the instructor in history or geography than he is to get satisfactory instruction in history, or geography, from the teacher of speech.

Speech training is one of the recent developments in American education. It is not unexpected that difficulties should arise concerning it. Discussions of the sort raised by Colonel Beukema in his recent letter help us to clarify our difficulties.

SOUND RECORDING IN THE POSTWAR SCHOOL SYSTEM

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SOUND recording has become an educational procedure of considerable importance, but it must be admitted that success in the use of this new aid varies considerably. With the advent of instantaneous recorders suitable for classroom use, the teaching of speech, modern language, drama, and music have become increasingly a laboratory matter, yet no matter how splendid the equipment and materials available in any field of education, the manner of their use is highly important. One teacher can take second- or third-rate materials and do a better job than another may do with the finest materials, but first-class teachers cannot do first-class work with poor materials and equipment.

Since we do not always have perfect teachers, and since the quality of even the best equipment usually leaves something to be desired, we must necessarily concern ourselves in this discussion with facts as they are, and make an honest effort to shed light on how to get from where we are to where we ought to be.

Like many another peacetime project, the development and marketing of sound-recording equipment has come to a standstill. However, those schools that originally purchased the best available several years ago, have a decided advantage over less wise investors who bought because it did not cost so much. The former are able to pursue their course with a minimum of difficulty while the latter, always handicapped by a poor quality instrument, must struggle on, ofttimes at great cost in wasted energies, because equipment of any kind cannot be had for replacement of their wornout or obsolete models.

It is the opinion of the writer that recording in the postwar school system will become an increasingly vital factor in education. From personal experiences with recording in the vocal studio, choir and orchestra rehearsal hall, and countless public performances of the rankest amateur speakers, musical performers and groups, to top-notch professional ones, over a period of 12 years in 25

states, there has never been any doubt as to the great values to the performers, in hearing themselves as others hear them. As more faithful reproduction of sound has been made possible, the benefit has increased.

After the first novelty of recording has worn off, teachers and administrators have begun to insist on "naturalness" in reproduction, and manufacturers are trying to build for the demand. Further progress can be expected only as the teaching profession and administrators who do the buying, learn to differentiate between the 60% or 70% of perfection in sound reproduction and the 85% to 95% of perfection which it is possible to attain—and buy accordingly. The majority of builders of recording equipment are like any other commercial organization: they produce for the demand. If 90% of the customers are happy with an inferior product on which a good profit can be made, the producer will seldom bestir himself to upset that market—for research and development work are very expensive.

A great deal of development and research has been done in connection with the war, and it will be strange indeed if this does not bring out new and better recording equipment as soon as peacetime production can be resumed. Probably within 6 to 12 months after the war ends, new devices will be on the market, perhaps some of them revolutionary. Buyers will be faced with choices between the old and the new. But the constant factor in the recording program for the schools is the inherent value of recording faithfully the performer's efforts, for self-criticism. Any practical piece of equipment or a new procedure that contributes to producing a more nearly natural reproductive of the original sound is worthy of consideration.

Recording on disc is the most widely used method at present although recording systems on film and magnetic tape are becoming available. Whatever the materials and equipment used in recording and playback, none have yet achieved the perfect reproduction, i.e., where the reproduced sound is exactly like the original. There are usually noticeable differences between original sound and reproduction, due to a variety of causes, some of which will be discussed here. It must not be inferred that because there is not 100% of naturalness in the reproduction that recording as an educational procedure is questionable. It should be said, however, that the best equipment is none too good when, as in recording in the classroom, the teacher is dealing with human personality.

The choice of a recording system involves important considerations, several of which are often overlooked by school officials. It is important to consider the reputation and financial standing of the manufacturer as well as the quality of its product and service. Durability, ease of operation, maintenance costs and facility for adding improvements must be considered. The capital or initial cost should be calculated on a per-year basis. For example, a recorder costing $700.00 with expected life of seven years has a per-year-capital cost of $100.00. This higher-priced machine is cheaper than the $300.00 machine that is obsolete or worn out in two years and has to be replaced. In the first case, in addition to a lower per-year capital cost the purchaser has much better results than could be obtained from the $300.00 recorder.

II

The layman never ceases to marvel that reproduced sound is as good as it is. He looks at a "microphone" attached to a rather innocent appearing mechanism, called an "amplifier"; and, connected to this, he sees another unit called a "speaker." He observes that sound im-

pressed on the microphone is converted into electrical impulses in the amplifier, engraved on the record through the recording head, and then, through the pickup, amplifier, and loudspeaker he hears approximately the same sound as that which entered the microphone.

However, there are certain basic differences between the original sound and the reproduced sound. These differences are due to inherent weaknesses in the various units of the reproducing system. These units include microphone, amplifier, cutterhead, pickup, turntable, and loudspeaker. Average amplifiers have a measurable "distortion." So also have microphones, recording heads, pickups, turntables, and loudspeakers. This means that they are physically incapable of transmitting the sound perfectly from one medium to another. The microphone distorts slightly the sound it receives and passes on to the amplifier. The amplifier passes this on still further distorted to the cutterhead. The cutterhead distorts it somewhat more as it impresses it on the disc. Even the disc adds to the distortion, because of the elastic nature of its coating. Again, the pickup is incapable of perfectly picking up this sound from the groove and by the time it has passed through the amplifier on its way back to reproduction, the sound is still further distorted. The final stage, as the sound comes from the loudspeaker, finds it, then, having passed through six different stages before we hear it. Is it any wonder that we hear much bad reproduction of sound? The wonder is that we hear so much that is really good.

Weak links in the recorder-playback channel will tend to bring the over-all performance down to the level of the weakest link. It would thus be folly to expect first-class reproduction if a poor microphone were used with the finest recorder or amplifier made. Likewise, a loudspeaker that will not reproduce what the cutterhead puts on the record, nullifies some of the good points of the rest of the system. Obviously, the problem facing the manufacturer who is trying to put a superlative recorder-playback system on the market is to match up the various units so that their frequency response and freedom from distortion are about equal.

Every spoken word or note of music has a definite fundamental pitch and a series of overtones extending over a wide range. These overtones, by their strength in relation to the fundamental and other overtones, determine the "quality" of a voice or instrument. When, because of defects in a recorder-playback, some one or more of these overtones is overemphasized, underemphasized, or not heard at all in the reproduction, the quality is changed and becomes unnatural. For absolute naturalness of reproduction it is necessary that the reproducing instrument give back through the speaker the fundamental tone, and each of its overtones throughout a range of 30 to about 15,000 cycles, at exactly the same relative strength as heard in the original sound.

When the fundamental or any of the various overtones are heard at greater strength than in the original sound, we say there is a "peak" at that point. If heard at less strength, we call it a "depression." Many recorders are "peaked" at anywhere from 2,500 to 4,000 cycles sufficiently to result in a more-than-natural brilliancy which is ofttimes flattering to the voice. However, if the peak be pronounced, a measure of distortion results that is easily evident to the initiated, in the harshness of the *ē* and *ā* sounds of speech. If music be recorded with such a peak, the instruments such as the violins, sound shrill and unmusical.

A large proportion of radio receiving sets are incapable of reproducing at full strength frequencies above 4,500 or below 100 cycles and many cut off at 3,000

or less. The average nickle record machine in restaurants and cafes with its booming basss delivers little beyond 2,000 cycles! So, the average person who listens to poor equipment like this is startled when he hears real fidelity up to 7,000 and 8,000 cycles, and down to 30 cycles without peaks. The rarely heard reproducers that deliver from 30 to 10,000 cycles are seldom found except in professional studios and laboratories.

Some inferior equipment tends to reproduce speech with a deeper quality and pitch than the original. To many it may sound more pleasing, hence flattering to the voice. It is obvious that this sort of fidelity (or infidelity) has no place in teaching where faults as well as good points must be faithfully reproduced if the student is to benefit by the recording experience.

"Peaks" are tough problems for the conscientious manufacturer of sound recording and playback equipment. Each unit of the system has its own natural resonance peak and the builder of equipment must fuse its 6 or more units into a composite whole so that the over-all response is flat, or natural. To do this he must mechanically or electrically flatten out the peaks and build up depressions (the reverse of peaks) in each unit. This development work takes time, infinite patience and is very expensive.

When one considers the market, it is not strange that good recorders seem to be high-priced. A city of 50,000 population may boast 10,000 radio sets but it would be rare indeed to find 100 recorders in this same city. This is the answer to price difference: in part, quantity production. However, high-class sound recording calls for all that goes into a high-class radio set—and far more in the matter of precision-built turntable, cutterhead, feedscrew mechanism, and pickup. Further, schools and other institutions seldom buy recorders without expensive demonstrations. This must necessarily be reflected in the cost of the recorder. The potential market being small, rarely can dealers in even the largest cities afford to hire the trained help to demonstrate and service specialized equipment such as recorders. There are plenty of dealers who are willing to receive a commission on the sale of equipment but very few are equipped to furnish much service.

III

Thus far it has been hinted that there are other peaks besides those found in the reproducing systems. Voices and instruments, no matter how splendidly endowed in the case of the former or how perfectly constructed in the case of the latter, possess peaks. A voice, speaking or singing, differs from every other as the strength of the fundamental tone and its overtones vary in relation to each other. Almost invariably one or more overtones are stronger or weaker than they should be, changing the quality or "timbre" of the voice. The underlying causes of these variations are physiological, varying in each individual by reason of muscular strength, length and weight of the vocal bands, size and shape of larynx, pharynx, mouth, nasal cavities, skull, and even the entire body. In addition, psychological factors included in the term "personality" also have a differentiating influence. However, it is possible to change the "frequency response" and hence quality of the voice by careful training, eliminating "peaks" and depressions that are due to faulty or lazy breathing habits, to constriction of the throat muscles, or to other causes familiar to every teacher of speech and singing.

When faulty voices are reproduced, and the peak in the voice is at the same frequency as in the reproducing mechanism, a much greater degree of distortion results. In other cases, voices weak at the

point where the reproducer is strong, may be reproduced with very pleasing results because the excess in the one offsets the lack in the other. This accounts for experiences in recording voices of a class when, with the same recorder-playback, in the same acoustical conditions Mary's voice sounds very well while Ann's does not! It also partially explains the oft-heard remark, "My voice does not record well" or "Her voice does not sound well over radio." If it sound anything less than natural, it is due to peaks, depressions or other distortion in the reproducing mechanism. On the other hand, voices with a peculiar or unpleasant quality in them, may sometimes sound very well when reproduced. This may happen when the "peak" in the voice coincides with a "depression" in the reproducer, or vice versa.

IV

Just as voices and instruments have "peaks" and "depressions," so do ears. Some people hear the higher frequencies better than the low, and vice versa. Some ears overemphasize certain frequencies just as pickups, cutterheads, or speakers do. Such ears would convey to their owners a distorted impression of a perfectly flat or "natural" reproduced sound. It is not uncommon, also, to find people who think a "peaked" reproduction sounds very well simply because their ears are deficient at the frequency where the peak in the reproduction occurs. The same recording has been observed to produce intense dissatisfaction in another listener because his ears have a peak at the same spot as the recording! It is no wonder that the really scientific mind does not trust "hearing" alone when evaluating the results of his research. He rightly relies on the finest measuring equipment available and then makes deductions which leave human frailties and peculiarities out of the equation. He trusts his ears in part only after he knows by scientific measurement what is fact. Responsible manufacturers are usually able and willing to furnish "curves" or "light patterns" showing frequency response, distortion content, and other measurements of the basic units as well as the over-all characteristics of their products.

There is one peak and one depression in recorder-playback equipment that is legitimate, for the two together produce the normal or natural reproduction. This occurs in the low frequencies from about 800 cycles down to 30. In recording frequencies in this range the swing of the cutting needle laterally would be so great that the playback needle would not stay in the groove if recorded at actual volume. Therefore the swing of the recording needle is limited by mechanical damping. This mechanical limitation is offset by "peaking" the pickup the same amount by means of a network in the electrical circuit.

It is obvious that aside from the legitimate peaking and depressing just mentioned, naturalness can only be attained in reproduction if the recorder-playback channel is "flat" or in other words, free from peaks and depressions. Reliable manufacturers constantly strive to approach this desirable result in their products. In a certain price range it is possible to manufacture equipment flat to 3,000 cycles, in another price range to 4,000 cycles, and so on up to 8,000 cycles. Some manufacturers have units in their systems such as cutter heads, pickups or amplifiers that are capable of doing their particular work correctly to 10,000 cycles. But until each one of the different units involved in recording-playback equipment is perfected to the 10,000 cycle goal, the entire system is good only so far as the weakest unit is good! This often limits the reproduction to 5,000 cycles and in many of the cheap machines to 3,000 cycles, with high distortion content.

Most manufacturers build for the market—that is, finding a vast percentage of buyers satisfied with 60% or 70% naturalness, they will not put any more into the equipment than is necessary. Their product "sells for less," contains objectionable peaks and inequalities, and often lacks durability. As long as buyers consider "price first," such equipment will be built and sold. On the other hand, there are a few who set the pace by building today for the future which they know is ahead. Nothing but the best in design, materials, and workmanship goes into their product which is built for long, hard service. They know that "familiarity breeds contempt"—that the cheap machines under the fire of daily use will not retain the respect of their users. Therefore, in the long run the best machine available is the only logical solution. The capital cost distributed over the life of the machine will show lower per-year outlay than for the cheap ones. In addition better reproduction is assured from the start.

THE RHETORIC OF SEMANTICS

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By RHETORIC *I mean what Aristotle meant: the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion.*[1] *By* SEMANTICS *I mean, in this essay, the General Semantics recently expounded by Alfred Korzybski and his school.*[2] *My purpose is two-fold:* (1) *to discover, by an examination of certain of their published works, what means of persuasion the semanticists have found to be available; and* (2) *to offer a criticism of the means employed.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Some semanticists may not welcome the assumption that they are employing the art of rhetoric in the propagation of the semantic movement.[3] The subtitle of Korzybski's *Science and Sanity* is *An Introduction to Non-Aristotelian Systems and General Semantics.* Although Korzybski pays his respects to Aristotle,[4] he has characterized General Semantics as "non-aristotelian" and offers his system in opposition to the Aristotelian rhetoric. Irving Lee, one of the leaders of the movement, has distinguished between rhetoric and semantics as follows:

> Hitler and Aristotle start with this question: How can we persuade others to think as we do and to act as we would have them act? Korzybski starts with this question: How can I talk about the events of this world so that my talk evaluates them properly? In brief, I conceive the emphasis of the Hitler-Aristotle rhetoric to be on those speaker-audience relationships by means of which the audience becomes controlled by the speaker. The emphasis of the Korzybskian system as applied to rhetoric is on those relationships which exist between an utterance and the facts it is to represent. The one breeds a philosophy of power, the other a doctrine of adequate statement, and proper evaluation for both speaker and hearer.[5]

For Korzybski and Lee to discover that

[1] *Rhetorica*, 1355b.
[2] Alfred Korzybski, *Science and Sanity* (Lancaster, Pa. 1933).
[3] Warrant for referring to semantics as a movement will be found in the article on "Semantics" by S. I. Hayakawa, in the *Dictionary of World Literature* (1943), p. 514.
[4] Korzybski, *op. cit.*, p. vi.
[5] Irving Lee, "General Semantics and Public Speaking," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XXVI (1940), 601.

they are thought to be practicing the method of Hitler and Aristotle rather than, or as well as, the method advocated by Korzybski and Lee may not gratify them; but it will not astonish students of rhetoric. The most intriguing paradox in the long history of persuasion is the rhetoric of the anti-rhetorician: Plato's *Sophist;* Bishop Jewel's *Oratio contra Rhetoricam;* Carlyle's *Stump-Orator;* and in our own day, for further example, Professor Shorey's discourses.[6] In order to give effectiveness to their attack upon rhetoric, anti-rhetoricians have commonly resorted to the art they have assumed to disapprove.

That the modern anti-rhetoricians should provide us with still another example of the intriguing paradox should not be annoying. The student of rhetoric who follows patiently the course of the semantic movement is likely to be interested in Korzybski's point of view as well as in his rhetorical techniques. Indeed, to oppose some of the propositions of semantics would be to deny both common sense and the best traditions of rhetoric.[7] Stripped of nomenclature and an air of discovery, much of General Semantics should be useful in reminding us of what we already know. Do the semanticists tell us that "words *are not* the things they represent"? The nominalists taught that centuries ago in their dictum *Nomina, non res.* Do the semanticists tell us quaintly that cow_1 is not cow_2 is not cow_3? Thomas Hobbes admonished us in more interesting if less spectacular language: "Seeing that truth consisteth in the right ordering of names in our affirmations, a man that seeketh precise truth had need to remember what every name he useth stands for, and to place it accordingly, or else he will find himself entangled in words as a bird in lime twigs—the more he struggles the more belimed." Do the semanticists warn us to seek the referent? John Locke declared: "We should have a great many fewer disputes in the world if words were taken for what they are, the signs of our ideas only, and not for things themselves." Even though their articles of faith are not new, the semanticists could be helpful, if they would, in popularizing an understanding of words.

Nothing in this essay should be construed as an attack upon the sincerity, the honesty, or the good faith of the semanticists. Quite to the contrary: no one is likely to have greater understanding of the problems of those who feel they must advocate a cause than is the student of rhetoric. Given (1) the difficulty of the cause they would advocate, and (2) the present level of human understanding, the leaders of semantics have had little choice: they must employ rhetoric or not speak at all.

The semanticists do advocate a cause, and their dilemma arises therefrom. Hayakawa's *Language in Action* is frankly described as a "popular synthesis."[8] Lee's epilogue is an appeal to speech teachers.[9] Difficult though it may be found by some readers, Korzybski's book was actually written for parents and teachers and is designed to eliminate the *"neuro*-psycho-logical factors which make general sanity impossible."[10]

We can understand Korzybski's difficulty at New Orleans in 1931, when he addressed the American Mathematical Society. Here the semanticist met the problem which confronts the practi-

[6] For a critical commentary on Shorey's "Democracy and Scholarship," see "From Rhetoric Deliver Us," an editorial by Professor Everett Hunt, QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XIV (1928), 261.

[7] Korzybski states "the principles involved are often childishly simple, often 'generally known,' to the point that on several occasions some older scientists felt 'offended' that such 'obvious' principles should be so emphasized. Yet my experience, without any exception, was that no matter how much these simple principles were approved of verbally, *in no case* were they *fully applied in practice.*" Korzybski, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

[8] S. I. Hayakawa, *Language in Action* (1942), p. v.

[9] Irving Lee, "Four Ways of Looking at a Speech," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XXVIII (1942), 155.

[10] Korzybski, *op. cit.*, p. iii .

tioner of rhetoric every day. Here, before a specific audience, under time limits, he had to present the non-Aristotelian system. How did he do it? He declared:

> The scientific problems involved are very extensive and can be dealt with only in a large volume. Here I am able to give only a very sketchy summary without empirical data, omitting niceties and technicalities.[11]

The orator (or the writer) confronting audiences of less imposing mentality than the members of the American Mathematical Society, finds that *his* problem is extensive, that *he* can give only a very sketchy summary, that *he* cannot provide empirical data, that *he* must omit the technicalities. Like Korzybski, the orator often "must be brief, and state but roughly."[12] From circumstances which Korzybski met at New Orleans—finite time and uninstructed hearers—the art of rhetoric inevitably develops. If audiences were learned, and if time were infinite, speeches might be scientific demonstrations. But since men do not live forever, and since they rarely have the learning, even if they have the temperament, for scientific demonstration, it is not available to them. The speaker (and writer) must then, like Korzybski at New Orleans, adapt his material to the people, or to the place, or to the time limits, or to all of them.

The adapting of matter to permit communication between speaker and hearer is often even more complicated than Korzybski's New Orleans problem. To explain the critical principles of Irving Babbitt to a class of college sophomores, for example, or the economic theories of Thorstein Veblen to a group of business men, may be well-nigh impossible. The speaker does the best he can by turning the language of Babbitt and Veblen into the language of college boys and business men; or else he talks over the heads of his listeners. In adapting his materials to his hearers he is engaged in one of the typical tasks of rhetoric—making logical knowledge into psychological learnings; or in Robinson's apt phrase, he is "humanizing knowledge."

Nor is the usefulness of this aspect of rhetoric limited to the furthering of communication between the instructed and the uninstructed. Art continues to be long, and time is certainly not less fleeting than formerly. A zoologist may be distinguished in his own science and yet make no pretension to an understanding of modern physics. The various arts and sciences develop their own vocabularies, and scholars no longer have a common language peculiar to themselves. The Latin which served to bind together the scholars of an earlier day is dead. Mathematics, theoretically a perfect language, is severely limited in its usefulness, because its *referents* as well as its *symbols* are representations, and also because it is by no means the common tongue of scholars. Therefore, when men of learning must communicate with other men of learning outside a specialty, they often do so by resorting to the language of the people. Speaking before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Karl T. Compton said of electrons, "They were caught on rocks of fog or caught in metal cages operating like fly-traps. . . ."

The art of rhetoric, by which scholars translate from their own foreign tongue into the language common to scholars generally, becomes more and more the instrument—at present often the only available instrument—for repairing the rents in the once seamless coat of learning. It is precisely this aspect of rhetoric, clearly recognized by Aristotle, which has been commonly misunderstood by Platonic idealists.

All of the foregoing considerations might be thought irrelevant, if Lee's

[11] *Ibid.*, 750.
[12] *Ibid.*

strict distinction between power and *fitness with facts,* so easily drawn in the general, were not difficult in the specific.[13] The imparting of information, however, may be powerfully persuasive. The removal of impediments to the free flow of facts may be all that is necessary to effect a persuasive purpose. Even if rhetoric be limited to the function described by Richards (the art of preventing misunderstanding), it may still be employed to serve, at one and the same time, the supposedly divergent[14] ends of rhetoric and semantics: Knowledge may be power. The setting forth of facts may be available as a means of persuasion.

II. The Aspects of Persuasion

In the Aristotelian rhetoric, persuasion is a single art, of which there are three aspects. The first aspect concerns the personal reputation of the speaker or the writer; the second the disposing of the audience into a receptive frame of mind; and the third the reasonableness of the matter presented.

In the short span of life granted to us as human beings, we must depend upon advisers to determine much of our everyday conduct. There is no time to investigate every proposal: we buy an automobile, or refrain from going to a play, or even vote for a candidate or against a measure on the advice of those whose judgment we respect. Even the exact scientist, taken out of the laboratory where he has spent months establishing the most subtle and delicate facts, will purchase one refrigerator rather than another merely because his next-door neighbor recommends it. He makes no scientific investigation. He does not count, weigh, or measure. He is moved by his neighbor's reputation. Indeed, the more time the scientist spends in his laboratory, the less time he has for applying scientific inquiry in other fields.

Speakers and writers who seek their own advantage cultivate the appearance of honesty, judgment, and good will, in order to deceive. If men of integrity are to gain the confidence of their fellows, they too must have the appearance, *as well as the reality,* of honesty, judgment, and good will.

The second aspect of persuasion is necessary because propositions do not have uniform meaning, either to the same persons at different times or to different persons at the same time. In 1865, General Ulysses S. Grant wrote the following message to Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War: "Gen. Lee surrendered the army of northern Virginia this afternoon on terms proposed by myself." The message appears to be terse, factual, and unambiguous. Yet in 1865 the meaning it conveyed in Atlanta differed markedly from the meaning it conveyed in Boston. And the meaning conveyed by the message in 1865 differs from that conveyed in 1944. Even though persuasion be considered as the process of making facts effective, it is nevertheless necessary so to dispose the members of audiences (readers or hearers) that they do not wilfully impede communication. The form and arrangement of the discourse may be determined by the requirements of the audience. Speakers and writers whose interests or apparent interests are served by impediments to communication will employ ignorance, prejudice, or unwarranted strong feeling. If men of integrity are to communicate with their fellows, they must first secure a receptive attitude.

The third aspect of persuasion concerns the reasonableness of the proofs

[13] Lee, "General Semantics and Public Speaking," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XXVI (1940), 601.

[14] To a reader unconvinced of the total efficacy of General Semantics, Lee's position appears to involve what the semanticists term "two-valued orientation." He declares, "If for you it is more important to organize the thinking of your hearers to your modes of thought, then you will go to the former; if for you it is more important that statements are 'adequate,' that they 'fit' what it is they are about, then you will go to Korzybski." The tenor of his article suggests that the two ends are mutually exclusive. *Ibid.*, pp. 594-601.

advanced in behalf of a proposition. Enthymemes and examples, cogency and authority are employed either to establish probability or to energize knowledge. The function of rhetoric, in Aristotle's view, is to find the best solution for a problem. Unscrupulous men will employ reason and testimony, or the appearance of reason and testimony to confuse the innocent rather than to serve the facts. Even words well-fitted to facts can be used in a bad cause. If men of integrity are to secure the adoption of the best solution of a given problem, they must be able to confound sophistry and to present an acceptable chain of reasoning.

Aristotle believed (1) that a man should not speak against his own convictions; and (2) that the art of rhetoric will be employed by honest men for the advocacy of honest causes.[15] Aristotle recognized, however, that enthymemes may be employed to make the worse appear the better reason. His defense of rhetoric is grounded in his faith that, in a free society, the truth is stronger than its opposites and that the advocates of a good cause have a consequent advantage. If their efforts fail, they should blame not their cause but themselves. Aristotelian theory assumes, further, that every man should be able to defend a proposition and that it is disgraceful for him not to be able to do so.

III. The Semanticist's Use of Persuasion

In a strictly scientific demonstration, the semanticists would have only (1) to state their proposition and (2) to prove it. As a concession to their rhetorical needs, they would be justified in representing themselves and their cause as well as they can. Do they follow the stern way of science or the human way of rhetoric?

[15] Integrity in individuals is relative and particular rather than absolute and general. In the Aristotelian theory all good things can be used to do harm except virtue itself.

The organization of "an International Non-aristotelian Society with branches in connection with all institutions of learning throughout the world"[16] would appear to have important uses in establishing the prestige of the movement. The establishment of an International Non-aristotelian Library[17] apparently has some bearing on the accreditation of semantics. The listing of famous men, such as *Weyl, Poincaré, Whitehead,* and *Bridgman,* has a prestige function unrelated to what they say.[18] The recognition of a leader, chosen by any means at all, with appreciations, acknowledgments, and the dedication of books is a suitable means of enhancing the prestige of a movement. The means exists apart from the validity of the propositions advanced.[19] The holding of conferences, with elaborate programs phrased in superficially impressive language is commonly used by organizations as a prestige device.[20]

No one should object to the efforts of semanticists to enhance their movement by any legitimate means at their disposal; but it is interesting to observe how much the activities of the semanticists resemble the efforts of the practiced orator to establish himself with an audience and, at the same time, to recall Lee's protestation:

> What concerned Hitler and Aristotle was not something which concerned Korzybski. Each represents a difference in total orientation.[21]

The avoiding or arousing of antagonisms in the presentation of a movement will have profound effect on its acceptance. Have the semanticists attempted to

[16] Korzybski, *op. cit.*, p. x.
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 1-4, *et passim.*
[19] The semantics movement centers around the personality of Alfred Korzybski. His followers properly dedicate their works to him and acknowledge their indebtedness to him.
[20] An examination of the printed programs of the congresses and conferences on semantics will indicate the extent to which the device appears to be employed.
[21] Lee, "General Semantics and Public Speaking," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXVI (1940), 601.

adapt their materials to their probable audiences? Have they attempted to dispose their hearers into a receptive frame of mind?

Lee's bracketing of Hitler and Aristotle appears to have possibilities for drawing attention to his subject, if not for derogating the rhetoric of Aristotle by the time-worn means of association. One who reads the statements for the semantic movement will be impressed by the number of references to human ignorance, to the present unhappy state of affairs, and to the deplorable condition of the human race.[22] These references are apparently not without their implications of emotional proof.

But the most skillful rhetoric of disposition employed by the semanticists seems to be in arrangement and adaptation. This technique can be examined in the contributions of Elwood Murray, who puts the arguments for semantics into the mouths of professors. Only one of the professors is a semanticist; but as they discuss the subject, they see the light and are convinced of their previous misunderstandings and of the merits of the semantic movement.[23]

As a means of presenting arguments persuasively, this technique has many advantages: (1) The puppet-speakers can be employed as the author wishes. (2) There are no troublesome questions, because the author has everything under control. (3) The principle of confrontation necessary in genuine debate is avoided because the semanticist *writes all the speeches.* No suggestion is given here that the use of the method is unusual. It was employed by Plato and Cicero.

It has advanced such ancient institutions as the Holy Church and such modern enterprises as the selling of merchandise. An example of the latter will suffice:

Paulette Goddard Reveals Beauty Secret Between Scenes in Paramount's *So Proudly We Hail*

Script Girl: (to cameraman) Gee, how does she do it? Always looks like a million!

Goddard: (overhears) Sleep nights, honey—eight hours . . . every night.

Director: Aha! How to be young and beautiful—the secret's out! . . .

Goddard: Secret indeed! Anybody knows you can't look your best without rest. Or act either. And by the way, *you* don't look so lively this morning.

Director: Had a bad night. Dreamt I was buried under a collapsed tent.

Goddard: Maybe your blankets are too heavy! You need fine, *all wool* blankets if you want to stay warm and comfortable yet avoid that smothered feeling. Now *my* blankets are really light and downy and soft. . . .

Director: North Stars, I'll bet. But you can't buy *those* blankets today.

Script Girl: Yes you can. North Stars are back again—I saw 'em advertised.

Director: Recess, everybody! Call my car![24]

The relevant conclusion appears obvious: The North Star Woolen Mill Company and the semantics movement have employed similar rhetorical techniques in advancing their respective causes.

The third aspect of rhetoric consists of bringing proofs to bear in behalf of one's cause and of refuting arguments advanced against it. The semanticists have given some thought to their logical proof. Space is available here to consider only two types: testimony and analogy. In a preliminary report of two cases of psychopathic personality with chronic alcoholism treated by the Korzybski method, the following testimonial appears:

The case history has been covered, I believe, by you Doctor, so I shall not go over that ground. Of foremost importance in my case the chief negative factor in my life, alcoholism, has been brought completely under subjugation, due to the gaining of *cortical con-*

[22] Korzybski, *op. cit.*, pp. iv, 295, 542, 559.

[23] For examples of techniques of adaptation, consult the *General Semantics Monographs* (M. Kendig, editor), Institute of General Semantics, Chicago.

[24] *Good Housekeeping*, Vol. 117, No. 5 (November, 1943), 203.

trol through Semantics. I have subjected myself to the most extreme tests and have come through with flying colors as numerous of my friends can and will testify.

. . . . . .

P.S. You will understand that you have my fullest permission to use this personal letter as well as the case material in the hospital in whatever way your discretion may dictate.[25]

Assuming that the medical aspects of the patient's statement have been carefully checked, and assuming further that qualified physicians not retained by the patient have been admitted to view the patient and to report, the statement might be subjected to the routine tests of evidence. In the absence of relevant data, however, it is perhaps just as well not to weigh the testimony, but simply to observe its function.

Its function is rhetorical. It is rhetorically immature, on a level of sophistication with the patent-medicine advertisement; but it is in the province of persuasion. The semanticists have found one of the ancient means of proof: the testimony of the grateful patient. The testimonial device, in one form or another, is ubiquitous. An example can be found in any newspaper:

Mrs. Hubert Norman of St. Joseph, Missouri,
Tells What Folger's Coffee Means to
Her Family of Hard Working
War Workers

I am through jack-rabbit jumping from one brand of coffee to another. I have found Folger's is more economical in the long run than any "bargain" coffee and I get rich, thrilling flavor for my family of hard working war workers. Your "use ¼ less" slogan certainly tells the truth.[26]

Although logicians do not grant a high place to the analogy as a form of reasoning, it has been popular with theorists and practitioners of rhetoric, both as an instrument of proof and as a method of illustration. A well-chosen analogy will often move men to accept an abstract proposal, even when the strictest logic has no effect. Henry Ward Beecher declared:

I have seen an audience, time and again, follow an argument, doubtfully, laboriously, almost suspiciously, and look at one another, as much as to say, "Is he going right?"—until the place is arrived at, where the speaker says, "It is like—" and then they listen eagerly for what it is like; and when some apt illustration is thrown out before them, there is a sense of relief, as though they said, "Yes, he is right."[27]

Korzybski prefaces his work with two striking analogies.[28] The first is based on similarities between languages in a society and lubricants in a machine age; the second is a medical analogy, developing a parallel between semantic "identification" and infectious diseases.

The great semantic analogy, however, is based on the supposed similarities between maps and words. Korzybski developed the map analogy;[29] Hayakawa employed it is his *Language in Action;* and Lee used it in his "General Semantics and Public Speaking." Lee's statement, adapted from Korzybski, runs as follows:

Let us take some actual territory in which cities appear in the following order: San Francisco, Chicago, New York when taken from the West to the East. If we were to build a *map* of this territory and place San Francisco between Chicago and New York thus:

Actual Territory	San Francisco	Chicago	New York
Map	Chicago	San Francisco	New York

we should say that the map was wrong, or that it was incorrect, or that the map has a *different structure,* from the territory. If, speaking roughly, we should try, in our trav-

[25] *General Semantics: Papers from the First American Congress for General Semantics Organized by Joseph C. Trainor and Held at Ellensburg, Washington, March 1 and 2, 1935; with an Introductory "Outline of General Semantics" by Alfred Korzybski;* Collected and arranged by Hansell Baugh; Distributed by Arrow Editions, 444 Madison Ave., New York (1940), pp. 92-93.

[26] Columbia (Missouri) *Tribune,* Tuesday, November 23, 1943, p. 8.

[27] Henry Ward Beecher, *Yale Lectures on Preaching* (Boston, 1872), I, 158.

[28] Korzybski, *op. cit.,* p. ii.

[29] *Op. cit.,* p. 58.

els to orient ourselves by such a map, we should find it misleading.[30]

The plausibility of the map analogy doubtless accounts for its popularity. Unhappily, however, the analogy is misleading and its unqualified introduction into popular thinking is likely to do mischief. Tried by the simplest test, it does not meet the mark: The points of similarity between words and maps are outweighed by the points of difference. On the semantic map, Chicago, San Francisco, and New York are firmly fixed. Someone, presumably, has made the journey. Someone *knows* where Chicago is. Across many sections of the rhetorical map of the world, however, are written the huge letters which were common on maps in the sixteenth century: TERRA INCOGNITA. Our human dealing with words requires not merely a simple journey from city to city with a road map. We must often start from we know not where to journey toward points unknown. No one has returned who made the journey. Yet we must go, for to stay where we are is impossible, even if it seemed wise. Looking toward the future, we are more like Columbus setting off to the Indies, and discovering a New World en route, than we are like a traveler on his way from San Francisco to New York.

The semantic map will not do, because it leaves out of account the creative function of rhetoric. It describes a static territory; but words are used also to tell what might be and what should be. Who can doubt that the words of Winston Churchill have helped to create the future map of Europe? Yet his speeches were based on hope as well as substance, on faith as well as materials; he spoke without sure knowledge of his road.

In sum, it appears that the semanticists have followed in the path of other anti-rhetoricians in employing rhetoric against rhetoric. They have endeavored to represent themselves as well as they could, to adapt their materials and to dispose their audiences favorably, and to bring logical proof to bear in advancing their cause.

V. Conclusion

No matter how much they may regret it, men of learning are blood-kin to their ignorant as well as to their learned brothers and share with them all the personal implications of mortality. They are wise to recognize their kinship and to remain in communication with their kinsmen. Inasmuch as the ignorant cannot understand the language of the learned, effective communication between them is now possible only insofar as learned men are willing to employ the art of rhetoric in adapting their knowledge to the understanding of the masses.

The art of rhetoric is indispensable, furthermore, in determining those questions about which no one, not even the most eminent scientist, can speak with certainty. Wherever propositions are merely probable, as must be certain in courses of action engaging the future, men will continue to weigh alternative policies without exclusive reference to objects. Where now is the history of the year 1948? How now can anyone of us manage more than a wise guess concerning the day after tomorrow? Yet we are constantly compelled to make decisions involving the day after tomorrow and the year 1948. So long as we are confronted by the fact of "future" we are likely to employ the art of rhetoric in coming to decisions. And many men, understanding the deficiencies of the art, and perhaps regretting the human frailties and the mortal limitations out of which it develops, are likely nevertheless to continue saying with John Donne: "How empty a thing is rhetoric! And yet rhetoric will make absent and remote things present to your understanding."

[30] Lee, "General Semantics and Public Speaking," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XXVI (1940), 597.

THE SEMANTICS OF RHETORIC:

A Dialogue on Public Speaking in 1944

ELWOOD MURRAY
University of Denver

Persons of the Dialogue

Dr. S. X. Decker—*Chairman of the Committee, Professor of Public Speaking, University of Pennfornia. Especially known for his articles on the theory and criticism of present day rhetorics. Has not studied General Semantics intensely. Is interested but undecided as to its utility.*

Mr. J. Dirks Brown—*Head of the Speech Department, Director of Debate, Maintownia North High School. Has studied General Semantics and applies it widely in his teaching.*

Dr. Oscar Williams—*Professor of Public Speaking and Director of Research Studies, Hornelling University. A leading authority on the classical rhetoricians, especially Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. Skeptical of General Semantics.*

Dr. Richton Moore—*Professor and Chairman, Department of Speech and Dramatic Arts, Plateau University. Although he has some publications in discussion, the personality aspects of speech, and General Semantics he does not consider himself a semanticist.*

Scene of the Dialogue

Meeting of the Committee on Problems in Public Speaking on the evening previous to a national convention of teachers of speech.

The Dialogue

Decker: Is there anything new to consider for our report to the general session tomorrow?

Brown: The Editor of the Quarterly Journal of Speech at the tea this afternoon suggested that we give consideration to the relations of General Semantics to rhetoric. Explicitly, he said he was interested in our exploring what he called the Semantics of Rhetoric.

Williams: He must have had something in his tea! Haven't we exhausted the profession with these endless word studies?

Brown: He said *General* Semantics, which is vastly broader than what we usually think of us semantics. *General Semantics has to do with improving our evaluative reactions to symbols and symbol situations; it provides new methods to remove blockages to proper evaluation and interferences to adequate adjustments; it helps us better to face "reality" and handle "facts,"* it involves far more than the sense and meanings of words.

Williams: Very well, if we must discuss it, wouldn't it be better to start at some more tangible point? Perhaps we should define rhetoric and view its methodology in a nutshell. I will risk being "Aristotelian" around these "non-Aristotelians" by suggesting that we use Aristotle's definition; that rhetoric is a method for discovering the available means of persuasion in a particular situation.[1]

Decker: The classical rhetoricians commonly spoke of three kinds of rhetoric—deliberative, judicial, and demonstrative. Speechmaking was based on *inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, and pronuntiatio.* There were three sorts of proof, commonly designated as *ethos* (that which existed in the character of the speaker), *pathos* (that which had to

[1] Lane Cooper, *The Rhetoric of Aristotle* (1932), p. 7.

do with arousing the feelings), and *logos* (that based upon reasoning). The modern rhetorics follow these precedents in many respects: the general ends, the central idea, gathering and assimilating of materials, methods of defining, limiting, analysis and partitioning, the methods of support, organizing and arranging materials, adapting the materials, wording the speech, and delivery.

MOORE: I suppose that a semanticist would say that rhetoric (or persuasive methods) aims at the changing of evaluations in line with the speaker's evaluations. To this extent rhetoric may be said to have a semantics—whether the speaker is aiming to improve evaluations, even though he might not be aware of the methods of General Semantics to improve evaluations.

BROWN: I would like to support the thesis that with an awareness of these mechanisms of evaluation from General Semantics what we call the "honest" speaker would probably be much more effective.

DECKER: Would you also support the corollary of that—namely, the "dishonest" speaker or "demagogue" would reform?

MOORE: I would say that he would automatically reevaluate his behavior; he would at least be far more "thoughtful," discriminating, and discrete in his statements; he would quit being intoxicated by his own words, because he would be aware of his mechanisms in doing this; at least, he would drastically improve, because the "facts" or the "truth" would loom up so much more emphatically.

WILLIAMS: That would be a boon indeed! But let us see you establish that thesis.

MOORE: Let us analyze several of the chief formulations of rhetoric by comparing what happens with and without the methods of evaluation from General Semantics. In each case I suspect that we will demonstrate that failure to use these methods makes us less able to "adjust to reality" efficiently.

II

WILLIAMS: To start at the beginning suppose you take up the semantics of the interrelationships of speaker, subject, and audience. Since the whole methodology of rhetoric takes its departure from these bases might not you thus systematically be able to develop your thesis? At the same time we will be able to criticize your point of view.

MOORE: If we apply the extensional[2] view to these relationships we find a four-way relationship in place of a three-way relationship which is assumed in our textbooks.

DECKER: If *proper evaluation* is to be better promoted, instead of only speaker, subject, and audience interrelationships, "subject-matter" would have two aspects —words and what words cover; *there would be a treatment of rhetoric which would permit a very much greater emphasis upon the relationships of words to facts;* new methods of checking statements to the "facts" they purport to represent would be made a part of the *discipline* of speakers. "Subject," as a speaker actually must deal with "it," includes both the "facts" and the words which represent "them."

MOORE: In expanding our treatment of "subject" into a treatment of the "relationships of words to facts" (a central methodology from General Semantics) we will be able to be more precise and efficient to helping speakers better represent "truth and reality" and avoid naïveté and unconscious demagoguery. Heretofore, our most intense efforts at something like this seemed clumsy and rule-of-thumb at their best.

[2] For the original treatment of "extension," "order," and other formulations from General Semantics see Alfred Korzybski, *Science and Sanity: An introduction to Non-Aristotelian Systems and General Semantics* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, second edition, 1941).

WILLIAMS: What was this "extensional" business you mentioned?

MOORE: The speaker who is extensionally oriented *tends everlastingly to put his main effort, concentration, and attention upon the detailed examples and specific facts of what he is talking about and upon the reaction of those to whom he is speaking.* His concentration on words is secondary, and upon himself almost negligible. He is exceptionally apt and proficient in relating his "word-maps" to his "fact-territory." He is unusually proficient in explicitly noting discrepancies between words and "facts" *in accordance with the importance of these discrepancies.* I have attempted to illustrate this "ordering" of reactions in Chart I as applied to the making of an outline.

BROWN: A gamut of misevaluations, maladjustments, and other ineptitudes of vocal and bodily behavior and difficulties in speech composition may be expected when the speaker approaches his task from an *intensional* orientation. *Here he reverses the natural order*[3] *of evaluation and puts his attention chiefly upon words as such and upon himself.* He confuses reactions-within-his-skin with

[3] See "intension," "extension," and "identification" in index of Korzybski, *ibid.*

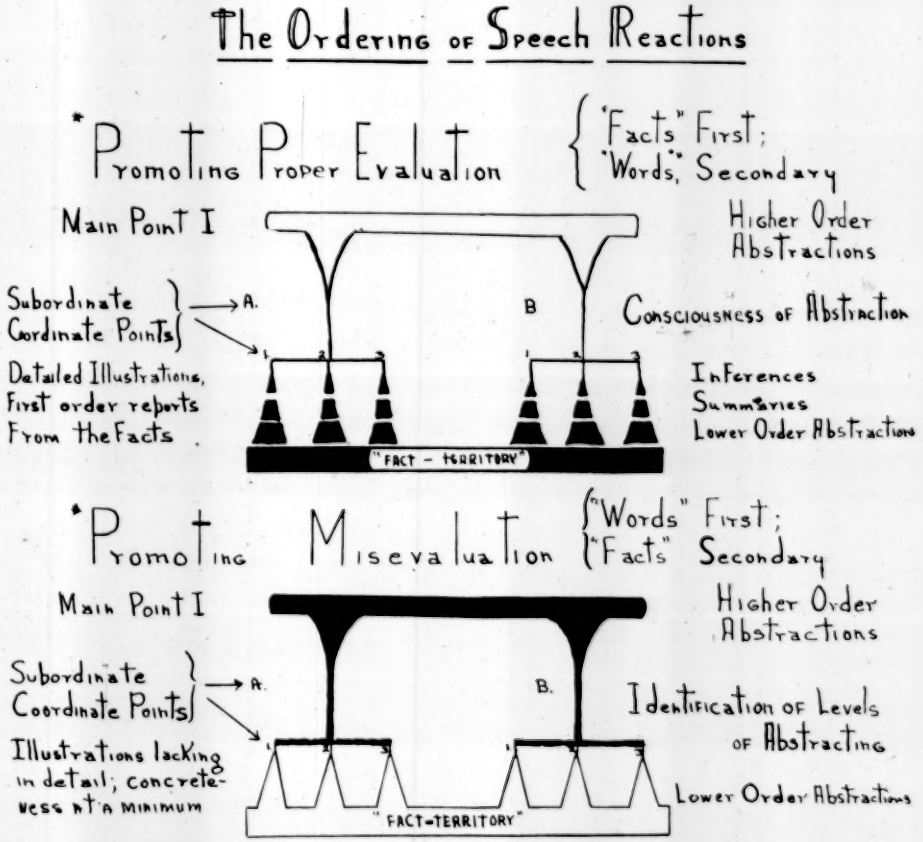

CHART I

* In the upper graph the speaker kept his main *effort and concentration* (as shown by the dark areas) upon the underlying "fact-territories" as he assembled his "materials." Also, he discriminated among his descriptions, summaries and inferences. In the lower graph this *ordering* of reactions was reversed. Although his "research" was as thorough his emphasis and concentration was upon words instead of upon "facts." Also, there was a confusing of descriptions, summaries and inferences.

the "realities" that he is trying to represent in his speaking. These inner reactions (includes feelings and tensions) are closely associated with and frequently inseparable from both his inner and implicit (unspoken) verbalizings and his overt speech.

MOORE: The speaker who evaluates properly doesn't confuse (identify) these inner reactions with the objective reality or "fact-territory" which he represents by his "word-maps."

BROWN: I can understand wherein the "demagogues" who play with "truth" don't always see these subtleties and this tends to keep them "demagogues." Perhaps, these persons frequently have quite fully convinced themselves that what they are saying is the "truth." They adjust to their own rhetoric as if it were "fact-territory" instead of a means of representation which was originally a deliberate slanting and distortion of the facts.

WILLIAMS: You say that a speaker with the more extensional orientation takes a vastly different attitude toward his speech materials?

BROWN: When there is this added absorption in the "territory-facts" (which is induced by the extension orientation) there are two effects upon the speaker: first, his attitude toward his facts becomes far more discrete and cautious, he is aware that he cannot know all about "them," that at the most his "knowledge" is only partial—the result of abstracting; second, his statements become more qualified and circumspect. He knows that his statements do not say *all*—that, at best, very frequently, his verbal maps only correspond roughly to his "fact-territory."

MOORE: That is what the teacher does when he insists on clear definitions; to facilitate this would make the speaker constantly aware of his word-fact mechanisms; this would require a new circumspection and exactitude of statement and it would make for effective awareness of the limitations of statement.

BROWN: In keeping a heavy emphasis upon specific cases, examples, and "meanings," the speaker would tend to avoid in his statements the "is" of identification and predication. He would not be so prone to make such statements as "persuasion *is* inducement," "orators *are* rhetoricians," "Negroes *are* inferior," "man *is* an animal," etc.; instead he would have many cases in mind, he would be aware of his mechanism of projection; he would keep this clear in his statements; he would be more extensional as he presented examples to stand for what he "meant" by "persuasion," "inducement," "orators," "rhetoricians," "Negroes," "inferior," "man," "animal," etc. His statements would thus stand qualified; at most he would indicate that his "definitions" were only statements "about" the object defined: "We *call (or name, or classify, or refer to)* methods of persuading as methods for inducing persons," "the name for this behavior is designated as animalistic," "our view of what Joe Smith did on that occasion was unfavorable," etc.

DECKER: What we have said about extension here seems to me to justify the suggestion that Moore advanced. Since rhetoric actually involves four-way relationships of speaker, *"meanings" or "fact-territory," words or "word-maps"* and auditors, it would better fit these realities than by using the present treatment which is largely by speaker, *subject*, audience. "Subject" is viewed as the relating of words to "fact."

III

WILLIAMS: How about other aspects of rhetoric? Suppose we take up the general ends or purposes of speech that we find variously stated in our textbooks?

DECKER: For example, in such a text-

book as that of A. E. Phillips.[4] His general ends are to entertain, to impress, to inform, to obtain belief, to obtain action.

WILLIAMS: And these ends, of course have their equivalents in the rhetorics back through the ages including those of Quintilian, Cicero, and Aristotle. For this reason you are taking up something fundamental in rhetoric.

MOORE: While these so-called "ends" have a certain usefulness, their use also interferes with the development of mature speakers.

BROWN: I have been thinking in that direction also. What are these interferences as you see them?

MOORE: First, as we generally use and look upon these "ends" and emphasize them, we waste tremendous effort on teaching persons to speak for artificial situations. Second, we are giving them false information when we emphasize them. Third, we are making speech and rhetoric an *end* in itself, instead of a *means*. And, fourth, in thus verbally splitting the speaker's behavior, we are neglecting to have the speaker make the improvements of his inner mechanisms which is our most important point of focus if our work is to be genuinely effective.

WILLIAMS: Surely, you wouldn't attempt to convince very many of us that what we have all been doing here is all wrong.

BROWN: Actually in speechmaking the speaker merely sets up sound and light stimuli (what enable the auditors to hear and see him) from which they abstract and infer. You can't split these stimuli into separate entities, which "inform," or "impress," etc.

MOORE: These general ends also split the speaker's reactions verbally into entities that cannot actually be split; there is no such thing as a speech to inform that doesn't also obtain a certain amount of belief, that does not arouse interest at least slightly, and doesn't obtain action at least implicitly or at unobserved levels. In fact, very rarely are there speeches in "real" life which are strictly just one or the other. An effective speaker is doing all of these things more or less at once and simultaneously.

BROWN: Furthermore, these ends seem to imply an unduly static picture of audiences and speech situations. Responses must be obtained in *individuals'* nervous systems, not in some vague entity of an "audience"; no two individuals will respond exactly the same and no individual will respond the same twice. Doesn't our attempt to have speakers organize their compositions according to one of these ends tend to keep them from adjusting precisely to differing and changing individuals? In trying to do this the tendency of the speaker is to put his concentration on his words and himself instead of upon his "facts" and his auditors.

WILLIAMS: But these are useful divisions for the sake of analysis and criticism.

DECKER: Why can we not appropriately abstract from the speaking something that we call general ends or purposes?

BROWN: Aside from the false information which these "general ends" represent to our speakers about speaking they block us as teachers in helping our speakers develop. And how can we expect our speakers to rise beyond the potentialities of what they are taught!

MOORE: Note they are called "general *ends.*" That is, an end of speech is to obtain *conviction,* or to obtain *action,* or to *entertain,* or to *stimulate,* or to *actuate* according to the particular textbook writer. The central emphasis in this rhetorical theory is such as to make speech an *end.* I emphatically believe

[4] Arthur Edward Phillips, *Effective Speaking* (Chicago: 1915), pp. 20-24.

that this is a basis of many of our present problems in speech education; it seems imperative that we should look on these so-called *ends* as *means,* not as *ends.*

DECKER: Then what is your notion of the *ends* of rhetoric?

MOORE: The ends of speaking generally might be designated as proper evaluation, or social integration, based upon "truth." Speeches to inform, or to convince, or to entertain, or to impress may serve as *means* to proper evaluation and social integration.[5] This must occur at the level of specific dated reactions.

WILLIAMS: I can't see a great deal of harm in continuing to do as we have been doing for quite some time in this field.

MOORE: When we put our chief concentration upon these verbalisms which convey false "facts" we frustrate our own instruction. We forget that speaking is a product of the nervous system and that to improve it in any genuine way we must improve the functioning of our speakers' nervous systems. When we make the speaker's words more important than his nervous system which produced the words we can't expect to improve his habitual speaking greatly.

DECKER: All down through the ages, then, Moore, I understand that you view the conventional rhetorics, organized around their general ends and purposes, as making speaking an *end* instead of a *means,* and that various speech difficulties arise from this distorted thinking of rhetoricians about rhetoric.

MOORE: Not only have our "authorities" been splitting speech behavior verbally into fictitious "ends," but they have been splitting these same auditory and visual stimuli into other fictions of "content" and "delivery," "substance" and "form," "subject matter" and "presentation," etc.

WILLIAMS: What harm can this possibly have? I don't see how we could dispense with these concepts.

MOORE: Aside from misleading our students by these verbal splitting of realities that cannot be split, these practices provide the basis for at least three persistent and rather grave problems that we face in our profession. As long as we split speaking into "content" and "delivery" our colleagues in other teaching fields tend to say that we have no "content" that we don't borrow from them such as "logic," "history," "English," "psychology," "philosophy," etc.

BROWN: Although our colleagues are taking advantage of our verbal splittings, they are likewise vulnerable in their own fields. But that doesn't help or justify objectifying our own verbal fictions.

MOORE: We have a similar difficulty with many "lay" persons. When speech-making is split into "content" and "delivery" they tend to think of it only as "delivery." To them speech *is* delivery! And this viewpoint is further fostered by the "charlatan" teachers of speech in our midst who still teach speech primarily as "elocution." Both the "laymen" and "quacks" are too much concerned with how a speaker "sounds" and "looks." This all too prevalent view of our work by much of the "public" is a high price to pay for retaining our own static ideas, it seems to me.

IV

BROWN: There is still another verbal splitting of speech behavior that may block or distort the speaker's thinking about his speaking and our own thinking about rhetoric. There appears to me to be a three-way splitting in Aristotle's "artistic" proofs.

WILLIAMS: We understand that you refer to the three modes of persuasion; namely, those that reside in the character of the speaker (*ethos*); and the emotional (*pathos*), and logical (*logos*)

[5] See Elwood Murray, "Speech Standards and Social Integration," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XXVI (February 1940), 75-83.

proofs?[6] These so-called ethical, pathetic, and logical proofs permeate the thinking of many of our scholars and textbooks today. I don't see how General Semantics would have any bearing upon these foundations of our work.

MOORE: This division of speaking into appeals to the "intellect" and appeals to the "emotions" is no more valid and accurate than the division of the living human organism into a "body" and a "mind," or the three-way split of "body," "mind," and "soul." Scientific psychologists have long ceased to do this. Why shouldn't we be as sensitive to the validity of our assumptions as the psychologists?

DECKER: You imply, then, that in reality there is no such thing as an appeal to the "emotions" that has not also at least a slight appeal to the "intellect" and represents likewise a certain amount of persuasiveness inherent in the prestige and personality of the speaker? And likewise with appeals to the "intellect"; they convey at least a slight appeal to the "emotions."

MOORE: Yes, every statement a speaker makes is made up of all three indivisible aspects, no one of which can ever be separated from the other.

WILLIAMS: But many of the most important studies in our field are based upon this approach. Much of our rhetorical criticism and the work upon the lives of orators give almost their main consideration to these modes of "proof."

BROWN: And, I believe, more or less to our detriment. As long as we base our work on false-to-fact assumptions, speechmaking can never become a "true" science with the advantages which would thereby accrue. In other words these faulty assumptions inherited from the Aristotelian era hold up the development of more valid and effective methods of evaluation in our field.

[6] Cooper, *op. cit.*, 1.2, 1355[b]-1356[a].

MOORE: The psychologists had a similar problem in their verbal splitting which separated "mind" from "body," something which was false to fact. As long as they held to the old assumptions based on this verbal splitting their field remained far too philosophical and theoretical and hence could not be of much use in the work-a-day world. These habits of thinking about their work greatly hindered the use of more objective methods in psychology similar as our verbal splittings in rhetoric seem to me to hinder the development and use of more valid and precise methods in our work. This is aside from the hindrances to proper evaluations of our speakers which occur.

BROWN: Let us note also what our emotion-intellect split in rhetoric does to the evaluations in the invention phase of the speechmaking process.

WILLIAMS: By invention you refer to that part of rhetoric which deals with gathering "facts," analyzing them, and "working up the case," the use of the means of support such as detailed and general illustrations, analogies, specific instances, statistics, testimony, reasoning, and re-statement.

MOORE: To use these methods to "arouse the emotions" is to block the *ability adequately to predict the consequences to personal and human welfare;* to use these methods primarily as "reasoning" devices and for the sake of their logical consistency is to dissipate the "thinking" energy to less important considerations, to remove the drive to make predictions and obtain perspectives, and results in the speaker *weighing the social and human consequences too lightly.* I need not point out the dangers of rampant emotionalism or dead impersonal intellectualism upon speaking. Present rhetorical "machinery" lends itself exceedingly well to the "mountebank," "charlatan," and "demagogue" in these

respects without giving the "honest" speaker adequate devices for exposing the abuses they promulgate.

BROWN: Proper evaluation seems impossible without a balance of these two factors wherever decisions are made. Evaluation can be adequate only where it is based upon both an awareness of outcomes (predictability) and a *weighing* of the relative importance to personal and social welfare in the different outcomes inherent in the situation being adjusted to and spoken about. Proper evaluation employs the necessary balance of "feeling" and "intellect"—it does not split the reaction into fictitious divisions. The result is a tendency toward a greater wisdom of discussion and action since the *more important factors* obtain a more intense focus of attention.

DECKER: Would you say that we have a mixture of sheer "emotionalism" and indifferent "intellectualism" (that is, "feeling" without "intellect," or vice versa) at the basis of the present mess the world is in? I can see that if speakers habitually kept the two working together in their assumptions that there would be a new and continuous attention upon the really important, and a lessening of concern with the unimportant.

WILLIAMS: This discussion certainly adds fuel to that long-standing controversy initiated by Mary Yost,[7] Gladys Murphy Graham,[8] and Charles Henry Woolbert,[9] and others, who maintained a monism in these matters. But the controversy has apparently lain dormant after the series of articles by E. Z. Rowell.[10] You remember that Woolbert maintained that the "intellectual" response was merely a less observable and more implicit response than the "emotional" response which he pointed out as being more observable and explicit. Rowell maintained that the duality was an "obvious and useful one for us to maintain." It seems to me that Rowell would not accept Woolbert's explanation here merely because he wouldn't accept it. General Semantics would emphatically support Woolbert, Murphy, and Yost, since it makes clear there is a verbal splitting of the unsplittable speech reaction in our time-honored rhetorics. This is definitely what is implied in the fictitious dualities of intellect and emotion and conviction and persuasion of our rhetorics.

V

DECKER: We have been discussing the conventional methods of invention; that is, without the methods of evaluating from General Semantics. I'd like to know what differences would come into the speech-composing process if consciousness of abstracting[11] were present in the speaker?

MOORE: A speaker conscious of his abstractings, in viewing a situation either directly or through the media of other persons' spoken words, is aware that the situation he is evaluating is in constant change, *that his facts are-in-process,* that he can only become *acquainted partially with these facts* (that he cannot know *all* about them), that the verbal representations made about the situation *are not* the situation, that there are tremendous differences in the validity of these representations according to the level of abstraction, slantings, and inferences in the materials with which he is dealing when he listens, reads, or when he responds to his own symbolizings.

BROWN: Doesn't he have a definitely different viewpoint concerning his

[7] "Argument from the Point of View of Sociology," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH EDUCATION, III (1917), 109-124.

[8] "The Natural Procedure of Argument," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XI (1925), 319-337.

[9] "Conviction and Persuasion: Some Considerations of Theory," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH EDUCATION, III (1917), 249-264.

[10] See Edward Z. Rowell, "Prolegomena to Argumentation," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XVIII (1932), 1-13, 224-248, 381-405, 585-606.

[11] Korzybski, *op. cit.*, Chapter XXVI.

"facts," his descriptions, illustrations, testimony, summaries, and other "materials"?

MOORE: He *weighs* these materials with much greater discrimination. He carefully inspects and *orders* these materials according to their relationships and correspondence to the "fact-territory-in-process" which they represent. He gives first attention and weight to detailed first-order descriptions and reports which refer to specific dates and circumstances; he gives secondary, though careful, attention and weight to these statements which are most highly abstract and general. (See Chart I.)

BROWN: In this *ordering*[12] of his reactions most of his effort finds its focus in an attempt to ascertain the "fact-territory-in-process" beneath the words; the new and changing factors determining outcomes. These factors are more important than even the most detailed descriptions of them; descriptions and reports are in turn more important than summaries (which are abstractions of descriptions); descriptions and summaries are more important than low order inferences and interpretations; low order inferences are basically more important than inferences about inferences or summaries of summaries (higher order abstractions of high order abstractions).

MOORE: *In thus not confusing the different levels of abstracting the speaker becomes unceasing in his observing of his "facts";* he is aware that statements about these "facts" never represent *all,* never exactly coincide point to point with the "facts"; he looks hard at the changes and differences which are occurring; although he observes similarities he also sees the differences within the similarities.

BROWN: Automatically his statements take on a new discretion and exactness; he sees the "white" in the "black," the "black" in the "white," the "true" in the "false," the "false" in the "true," the "good" in the "evil," the "evil" in the "good," the *is not* and the *although* in the *is*[13] statements; he looks for what is said *between the lines* as well as what is explicitly stated; he is aware that no statement can correspond *exactly* and *completely* to its "fact-territory." His research and his reflection upon his materials become incomparably more thorough and deliberate. The whole speech composition process becomes better geared to the "truth."

DECKER: Would you imply that a knowledge of these mechanisms of abstracting would tend to help our "unconscious demagogue," whom we have previously mentioned, become more discrete and to qualify his statements.

MOORE: Probably he would become almost completely silent for awhile; at least his impulsiveness and his tendency toward dogmatism would be almost automatically curbed. In maintaining an orientation to specific cases he would tend to be silent when there were no cases for reference—he would literally have nothing to say.

BROWN: In habitually *ordering*[14] his reactions with much greater emphasis upon materials at the bottom of the abstraction ladder the speaking would tend to be more concrete, specific, and less general. It seems to me that this would be a boon for humanity.

MOORE: The fine art of presenting illustrations would receive a much greater emphasis. In fact detailed illustrations are probably viewed by most teachers of speech as the most important speech materials. The adequate use of specific material has always seemed to me to be about the most difficult thing we have to teach.

[12] Korzybski, *op. cit.,* Chapter XII.

[13] See Elwood Murray, "Speaking about Speaking—and General Semantics: Prologue to a Play," *Proceedings of Second American Congress on General Semantics* (Chicago, 1943).

[14] Korzybski, *op. cit.,* see "order" in index.

VI

WILLIAMS: This brings us to organization of materials, the *dispositio* or arrangement stage of speechmaking; the deciding what to put first, second, third, last, etc. I can't see wherein semantics has anything to do with this.

MOORE: You will agree that the arrangement of materials must aim at clarity and acceptability to the auditors?

BROWN: Until recent years there appears to have been no attempt to make arrangement of materials depend upon the point-of-view of the audience. The conventional introduction-discussion-conclusion arrangement of Aristotle and the expanded versions in the rhetorics of Cicero and Quintilian seem to promote a subjectivity in the speaker—to make him almost ignore his audience altogether in putting his speech together. These writers tend to make the speaker assume that distinctions among auditors rest almost wholly on age groups, wealth and other static categories.

DECKER: Examples of the trend today are seen in the treatment of arrangement by W. N. Brigance and R. K. Immel.[15] They give much emphasis in arranging topics to fit the specific audience. Alan H. Monroe's[16] "motivated sequence," namely, his order of *attention, problem, satisfaction, visualization, action* appears to be an arrangement favorable to helping the speaker to think about his audience as he formulates the "content" of his speech. The treatments of audience analysis in other present day textbooks also indicates this trend to have the attitudes, culture-levels, and backgrounds of the auditors determine both what goes into a speech and its arrangement.

MOORE: General Semantics would greatly accentuate this trend, I believe, and especially in the arranging of materials. There are several ways in which arrangement might be more effective.

WILLIAMS: I would like to hear these.

MOORE: If the improvement of evaluations is to become a chief function of rhetoric the arrangement would be determined, first, by whatever state of blockage and prejudice to proper evaluation might exist in the auditors. The first aim of the speaker would therefore be to eliminate these blockages. He would have his first points focused on the blockages and resistances to consideration and understanding of the problem. His chief technique for doing this involves making the auditors aware of their mechanisms of blockage; that is, of their biases, dogmatism, prejudices, confusions. By one means or another, directly or indirectly, he must help them to face "reality"; he must help them achieve an objectivity.

VII

DECKER: Gentlemen, the hour is late and we have business tomorrow. I fear we must adjourn discussion.

WILLIAMS: But we have not completed this exploration of *dispositio* and haven't even come to "style" or Cicero's *elocutio*. I'm curious to hear what semanticists have to say on that.

BROWN: And remember, too, Mr. Chairman, that we have not touched what semanticists have to say about delivery, aside from our mention of the verbal splitting of "delivery" from "content."

DECKER: True, gentlemen, we have not covered either of those important topics, but no discussion can exhaust the subject. Something must be left for future reflection, and enough has been said tonight to occupy our reflective capacity for some time hence. Meanwhile, I assume that you wish me to report the gist of this conference to the convention tomorrow.

[15] *Speechmaking* (1938), Chapter XV.
[16] *Principles and Types of Speech* (1939), Chapter 12.

MOORE: If it includes the statement that the game was called on account of darkness.

DECKER: Fair enough. As to the report, I will say, in a nutshell, that rhetoric without General Semantics in all of its aspects may promote misevaluation almost as freely as proper evaluation; that rhetoric with General Semantics at its base becomes a more potent instrument in helping men adjust themselves to the realities of a rapidly changing world of 1944. That a merger of the methods of evaluation from General Semantics with rhetoric would help rhetoric function to accelerate wisdom and unity of belief and action in a world that is permeated with confusion and dissension.

THE CONTEMPORARY LECTURE PLATFORM

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IN JANUARY, 1942, W. Colston Leigh, who has been booking 5,000 lecture engagements per year for several seasons and who has had 125 lecturers under contract, acquired the Columbia Lecture Bureau. To his 125 lecturers, including such headliners as Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Eve Curie, Vincent Sheean, Louis Adamic, and Stuart Chase, he added another 100, including William L. Shirer, Edward R. Murrow, and Carl Sandburg. With offices in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and San Francisco, Leigh has an organization so large that it is said he must book more than 5,000 lectures per year to maintain it.

Leigh is symbolic and, except for the size of his organization, quite typical of the commercial lecture business—commonly called the Lecture Platform—of today. It is an institution with a history reaching back to 1826. It is a mixture of prominent and little-known personalities, of good and bad speakers, and of various booking methods—an institution resting essentially upon a foundation of public address, yet in which frequently less attention is paid to good speech than to names and reputations gained in other fields. It is an institution once called by Theodore Roosevelt "The most American thing in America."

It is my purpose here to survey briefly the contemporary Lecture Platform (1930 to the present). I shall consider the following questions: What is the present scope of the Lecture Platform? What have been recent innovations or adaptations? What are some of the leading booking bureaus? What is the nature of the "talent" and the programs in the Platform?

THE PRESENT SCOPE

For reasons that will be discussed shortly, the Lecture Platform has had a renaissance within recent years until today it is a big business attracting during the past 12 months approximately 6,000,000 persons to its audiences.

One prominent lecturer, Upton Close, remarked in 1940: "I no longer apologize for being 'one of those people who lecture.' There need be nothing apologetic about a business with three million customers, a three to five million dollar a year gross revenue, and more influence on politics and popular taste per dollar than publishing and radio. . . . The lecture business . . . is one of the deepest-rooted institutions in American life, and is now becoming one of the widest-spread. Today it is giving birth to new crusades, creeds, cults, and organizations

just as earlier it gave the popular impetus to abolition, prohibition, woman suffrage, and circulating libraries.[1]

In the season of 1940 the three leading bureaus booked Mrs. Roosevelt, General Hugh Johnson, Alexander Woollcott, Duff Cooper, Thomas Mann, Eve Curie, Lin Yu-tang, John Gunther, and Dorothy Thompson for more than $1,000,000 worth of lectures. Also in 1940 the commercial bureaus sold programs to more than 2,000 of the 15,000 women's clubs affiliated with the General Federation, and also to more than 2,500 service, professional, religious, literary, and similar organizations.[2] The Collins Festival Circuit is reported to have been booking within recent years 300 small cities and towns in the East at $195 for a six-night season.

Program, "a magazine for program and entertainment committees," lists in a recent issue more than 290 speakers; and these are only the persons featured in the advertisements of the larger bureaus.

Recent Innovations or Developments

Through the latter half of the nineteenth century and until the 1920's the Lecture Platform enjoyed a boom; then a decline set in, and by 1930 a marked loss had developed. The Chautauqua and the Lyceum, two of the dominant forms of the Platform, experienced a decline that led to their virtual extinction. In the hey-day of the Tent Chautauqua, for example, there were approximately 13,000 performances each year in from 6,000 to 8,000 communities, with audiences estimated at 40,000,000 annually. In contrast, the Tent Chautauqua is practically non-existent today, with only a few such permanent organizations as Chautauqua (in New York) remaining. As one writer has said, "By 1932 the circuits had gradually folded up their tents and, not unlike the Arabs, silently stolen away. They had given up before the onslaught of the radio, the moving picture, and the 'car in every garage.' "[3]

Furthermore, in contrast to the movies and the radio, the Lyceum of 1930 was comparatively less important than formerly. Whereas thousands of towns and nearly every city had been affiliated with Lyceum courses and at the same time there had been several lakeside "assemblies" where thousands of persons gathered each season, the 1930's saw these courses and assemblies reduced to the vanishing point. (It should be noted, of course, that such organizations as Bay View, Michigan, Spirit Lake, Iowa, and Winona Lake, Indiana, survived; but they were exceptions to the trend.)

Since the 1930's, however, there has been a revival of the basic institution not necessarily or always in the old forms but a revival in terms of innovations and developments. Kept alive by America's "thirst for knowledge," the Lecture Platform has been affected by forces *within* and *without.*

Three significant forces from *within* are apparent. First, the use of, and the adaptation to, a rival—the radio. Town Meeting of the Air, for example, which uses the radio to "air" its weekly forums at Town Hall, has built up more than 1,500 listening groups under the name of Town Hall Associates. They are, however, more than listening groups. In many instances they rapidly become forums, with their own speakers who are drawn from talent near at hand or from commercial lecture bureaus.

Second, the use of the question period. To provide something that is lacking in the radio, the Lecture Platform has made the speaker become a forum leader who lets his audience talk back and ask questions—something that many persons ap-

[1] Upton Close, "The Lecture Business," *Saturday Review of Literature* (1940), XXI, 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, 4.
[3] Gay MacLaren, "The Golden Age of the Chautauqua," *Atlantic Monthly* (1938), CLXI, 673.

pear to enjoy even more than they do listening to speeches. (Some bureau managers have also discovered that the radio actually makes their business better, for the public likes to see the persons who have become popular over the air, especially if these persons can be quizzed or drawn out by questions.)

Third, the creation by some of the "talent" belonging to the old Chautauqua circuits of "celebrity forums" with budgets up to $15,000 per year. These are proving to be successful in many cities of 20,000 and upward.[4]

Three forces from *without* are also apparent. First is the public forum movement made popular by the United States Office of Education and the American Association for Adult Education. Under the guidance of these agencies, thousands of persons have been gathered into schools, churches, and other public places to talk about democracy and its problems, to talk about public business, to analyze and appraise public men and public issues—and consequently to become more interested in the world of "ideas." The process extended naturally and inevitably, with the result that other forums and lecture courses sprang up, some as substitutes for the original forums and others as supplementary organizations.

Typical is the experience of one community in the Middle West, which in 1937 and 1938 was on an Office of Education forum circuit. In 1939 it established its Fortnightly Forum, which is now in its fourth year as a lecture course, and uses the bureaus for many of its bookings. The bulletins of the Office of Education, such as *Looking Forward* and *We Choose Our Way*, as well as Mary L. Ely's *Why Forums?*, report other instances of this practice.

Second, is the nation-wide wave of interest in public issues—the economic order, the distribution of income, standards of living, etc.—created in a large measure by the depression years. As the pressure of unemployment and economic dislocation touched millions of persons, the desire to learn and to talk about these problems became paramount; and these millions either patronized or established the means of satisfying this desire. Hence they patronized existing forums and encouraged the establishment of scores of others. The process was a reciprocal one, also. The forums stimulated public interest in these problems, thus encouraging greater attendance at lectures and forums.

The third influence is the war, with its emphasis on current events, important places, and significant people. (It has been said that bewilderment and worry make people seek outside aid and also *opinion*.) In the current war situation the authoritative opinion seems to be that offered by foreign correspondents, ex-ambassadors, ex-royalty, and others who have recently come from Europe or Asia. As one writer observed in 1940, people want to know of the future in this period of uncertainty; and they flock to hear Emil Ludwig speak on "The Fate of Europe, 1925-1950," or Maurice Hindus discuss "The Coming War Between Germany and Russia."[5]

The case of Vincent Sheean, famous foreign correspondent, well illustrates this trend. He arrived from the Far East on December 3, 1941. The next day, under the management of W. Colston Leigh, he began a swing in the Middle Atlantic and New England States. He later went to Washington, D.C., then to the Midwest, on to Texas and the Pacific Coast, and back to the East. In January, 1942, he filled 31 dates. Colonel Romulo, General MacArthur's assistant in the Philippines; Cecil Brown;

[4] Upton Close, *op. cit.*, 3.

[5] Murray Bloom, "Prophets Not Without Honoraria." *New York Times Magazine* (1940), 6.

turer increased with the shift of attention to India and her struggle for independence. He had been at the hot spot, and his fees and bookings reflected this fact.

The Nature of Lecture Course Programs. In normal years the typical program is a composite of travelogue, lecture-recital, analysis of the current scene, and perhaps an inspirational lecture or two. For the season of 1942-1943, however, sponsors of at least the large courses in the main followed two well-defined paths; 1) programs pertaining to the immediate events and issues of the war; 2) programs solely on nonwar themes. Sponsors of the former type, believing that their patrons wish to concentrate upon the problems of the emergency, are selecting only those numbers that can be developed by the stars—the foreign correspondents and other interpreters of the news. Others, believing that their patrons wish relief from the war and its problems, are developing programs which (to quote an advertisement) "carry you away from world worries, war woes." They believe that their patrons feel as did the program chairman of the Ladies Literary Club of a Midwestern city when she recently said of a lecturer: "He was just what we needed—we all forgot for an hour the war, strikes, depression and everything else we've been thinking about." Of necessity, such sponsors build their courses around the professional lecturers—the travellers, the biographers, the photographers, with an occasional number provided by such a star of the literary realm as Lew Sarett or William Lyon Phelps.

The Relation of Lecturing to Standards of Public Address. A big name does not necessarily guarantee a high standard of public speaking performance. In fact, a number of the stars of the Platform appear to be oblivious of the fact that good speaking is an integral factor in lecturing. It is reported that when Lady Asquith appeared in New York, she was inaudible beyond the sixth row. Marcel Fodor, with all of his desirable qualities, is quite universally characterized as a speaker who lacks such basic essentials of good public address as energy, projection, and audibility. Hugh Gibson, a delightful conversationalist, left much to be desired as a public speaker when he recently toured the United States. Warden Lawes is described as only a fair speaker. Louis Adamic's speaking in a lecture attended by four thousand persons in a university auditorium aroused widespread adverse comment and a lengthy editorial in the city newspaper.

Notable exceptions are Mrs. Roosevelt, who took steps to improve her speaking; Quentin Reynolds, who is characterized as a speaker with "a superb voice, and effective delivery, and the faculty of taking his audience into his confidence"; Colonel Romulo, who testifies to the fact that he has made an intensive study of public speaking; Louis Fischer; and others. But the fact remains that there is actually no correlation between the size of the fee and the excellence of the public speaking, or between the "name" of the lecturer and the excellence of his delivery.

Conclusion

I shall not attempt a summary. It would be mere repetition. Rather, I shall suggest two somewhat unrelated conclusions. The first pertains to the Lecture Platform itself. The second pertains to this area of public address as a subject for further investigation.

In order to flourish, the Lecture Platform requires essentially three conditions: 1) a citizenry that is anxious to know what is going on; 2) a citizenry that is anxious to know the "why" of current events and thus desires to consult the "expert"; 3) freedom of speech. As long as the United States offers these

circumstances—and it is to be hoped that they are the stuff of which America is made—the Lecture Platform will continue to be a significant institution.

For the second conclusion, I quote the *Saturday Review of Literature:*

> The literature of lecturing is scant, remarkably scant in comparison with the vast library of secondary books that deal with belles lettres, its history, its nature, and its worth. And surely no one will be able to write the intellectual history of our times in America, or for that matter the pre-Civil War period . . . without such a study of the public lecture as has not yet been attempted. We have chapters on Boccaccio's lectures on Dante, a few studies of the Lyceum lecture which spread from New England to the Middle West . . . but no documented history of what certainly has been one of the most powerful social agencies, particularly in the United States.[8]

[8] Editorial, *Saturday Review of Literature* (1934), X, 520.

TOM CORWIN: "KING OF THE STUMP"

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IT WAS in 1899, thirty-four years after the death of Tom Corwin, that Robert Ingersoll crowned him "king of the stump,"[1] "the greatest orator of his time."[2] Thus the brilliant iconoclast preserved for a later generation the fame of Thomas Corwin of Ohio, dusky-faced Whig stalwart who has championed his party's cause through the turbulent campaigns of the pre-Civil War days.[3] That Ingersoll's tribute was neither exaggerated nor unfounded can be seen by examining the testimony of Corwin's contemporaries. Of all the political speakers heard by Joseph Hodges Choate in his youth, only Corwin stood out;[4] Senator John Sherman reported almost the same experience,[5] and Chauncey Depew remembered him as "probably the most brilliant speaker of the period immediately preceding the Civil War."[6] Old Ben Wade believed him "the rarest orator who ever spoke the language,"[7] and Nathan Sargent never heard a more "effective and attractive speaker."[8] His Senate colleague, Oliver H. Smith, held him "the very first in the nation,"[9] and even that crusty old critic, John Quincy Adams, who served with Corwin in the House, ranked him among the leading Whig orators of the day.[10] One of his ardent admirers, Rutherford B. Hayes, heard him "far excelling anything that [Edward] Everett did,"[11] and even Corwin's most devastating contemporary critic confessed that "he was the superior of either [Clay or Webster] in elegance and refinement of style, beauty and richness of imagination, and gracefulness of delivery."[12]

In the face of such glowing praise from those who heard him speak and felt his power it must seem strange to find Corwin but a footnote in the history of his country. There are cogent reasons, to be sure, why the star of Tom Corwin has

[1] Ingersoll to Josiah Morrow, April 19, 1899, Morrow MSS-1, Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society.

[2] *The Works of Robert G. Ingersoll* (1909), XII, 495-496.

[3] B. 1794, d. 1865: Warren County, Ohio, prosecuting attorney, 1818-28; member of Ohio legislature, 1821-23, 1829-30; Congressman, 1831-40, 1859-61; Governor of Ohio, 1840-42; Senator, 1845-50; Secretary of the Treasury, 1850-53; Minister to Mexico, 1861-64.

[4] E. S. Master, *The Life of Joseph Hodges Choate* (1920), I, 52.

[5] *Recollections of Forty Years* (1895), I, 91-92.

[6] *My Memories of Eighty Years* (1922), p. 321.

[7] A. G. Riddle, *Life of Benjamin F. Wade* (Cleveland, 1896), p. 155.

[8] *Public Men and Events* (Philadelphia, 1874), I, 313.

[9] *Early Indiana Trials* (Cincinnati, 1858), p. 508.

[10] C. F. Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1876), X, 321.

[11] C. R. Williams, ed., *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (Columbus, 1922), I, 513.

[12] W. F. G. Shanks, "Tom Corwin of Ohio," *Harpers*, XXXV (1867), 80.

been dimmed by those of his more famous, though often less brilliant, contemporaries. Corwin was a champion of lost causes—the Whig party, opposition to the Mexican War, and compromise to avert the Civil War—and "lost causes have a way of shrinking in importance in the memory of later generations." Yet Corwin's career marked a milestone in the history of political campaigning. By the historian and the rhetorician he should be remembered as one of the first great party orators to take to the country crossroads, one of the founders of the American political tradition of stump speaking. In that specialized field of oratory he was without a peer, he was "king of the stump."

I. The Emergence of the Stump Speaker

The election of 1828 did more than put Andrew Jackson in the White House; it demonstrated the strength of the newly-enfranchised masses of the Ohio Valley frontier. No longer were these coonskin apostles of democracy to be politically acquiescent, smugly ignored by the party politicians. In the coming years of the "rise of the common man" they were to become increasingly important on election day; while the total population was doubling in the next thirty years the voting population would triple. This simple fact was as handwriting on the wall for the politicians. Now they must "go to the people," and the necessity for direct, face-to-face contact with the voters was to change the pattern of political campaigning. Thus in 1832 the Jackson managers avoided the errors of the Clay men who specialized in tracts and pamphlets; instead they concentrated upon reaching the newly-enfranchised voters of the villages and cornfields. Fiery orators were sent out to meet the masses, face-to-face, with shrewd appeals to their prejudices and penchant for hero worship. The stump speaker had arrived on the American political scene.

Although the hysteria was largely missing in the "Election of the Succession" in 1836 the party orator was still in evidence, and by the election of 1840 his role in the new pattern of politics was well established: "speech-making became a practical art, and employed the ornaments of rhetoric, not so much for display as for the purpose of winning votes, gaining offices, obtaining verdicts, and controlling legislation."[13] It was the beginning of a day when the stump speaker was the chief factor in shaping public opinion upon political issues. The people of Ohio now "were taught their politics by mass-meetings,"[14] and James Hall, recorder of the social scene, could write that, "Everything is done in this country by popular assemblies, all questions are debated in popular speeches, and decided by popular vote."[15] The taste for public harangues had become a striking trait in the character of the West, and never was it to be so clearly demonstrated as in the Whig campaign of 1840, complete with banners, parades, and more than five thousand stump speakers.[16] It was this campaign which marked the emergence of the stump speaker as a significant force in American politics.

II. Stumping Ohio in 1840

Tom Corwin, known everywhere as "The Wagon Boy" for his youthful services in driving a supply train for General Harrison in the War of 1812, had employed the new pattern of campaigning since his election to Congress in 1830; then he made his first stump speech at Petersburgh[17] and brought cheer to the

[13] W. H. Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley* (Cincinnati, 1891), p. 241.
[14] A. K. McClure, *Our Presidents and How We Make Them* (1900), p. 113.
[15] "Western Character," *Western Monthly Magazine*, I (1833), quoted in Venable, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
[16] Sargent, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
[17] A. P. Russell, *Thomas Corwin: A Sketch* (Cincinnati, 1882), p. 15.

National Republicans who saw him as "not only a firm *American System* man," but "*at least* equal in talents to any man in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois or Kentucky (except one)."[18] In 1840, after serving five terms in Congress, Corwin was unanimously nominated for governor by the Whigs. Though importuned by his friends to return at once for the campaign, he waited for the adjournment of Congress but promised he would then come "& try to make up in industry for the loss of time."[19]

Corwin was literally to touch off the campaign of 1840 before he left Congress, however, with his spirited defense of "Old Tip" in a speech replying to General Crary of Michigan who had assailed Harrison's military record. It was a rebuttal which "for wit, humor, and withering yet goodnatured sarcasm has rarely, if ever, been excelled," reported Horace Greeley,[20] and John Quincy Adams, who referred next day to "the late General Crary,"[21] wrote in his diary that Corwin's speech had "reminded me of Apollo skinning Marsyas."[22] In pamphlet form the speech was to become the Whig's favorite campaign document[23] and its author the party's favorite stump speaker, later acknowledged even by an official Democratic historian as "the most powerful factor in General Harrison's campaign for president. . . ."[24] When Corwin returned home in May he spoke first at Wilmington. Here, before a district convention of 10,000 people, beneath banners hailing "Harrison, Tyler and Corwin," and surrounded by log cabins, huge canoes, and hard cider barrels,[25] the "Wagon Boy" began the canvass which would prove him "the most famous stump speaker of his time, perhaps of all time."[26]

It is, of course, impossible to find a record of every speech Corwin made in the 1840 canvass, though a careful combing of contemporary newspapers and diaries reveals specific reports of forty-four. Corwin himself wrote that "I have made more than *one hundred* regular *orations* to the people this summer; that I have, *first & last*, addressed at least seven hundred thousand people, men, women, children, dogs, negroes & Democrats, inclusive. . . ."[27] However accurate Corwin's own estimate may have been, a study of his campaign itinerary shows that he covered the state thoroughly with the exception of the west-central portion on the Indiana border, then the least populous area of Ohio. A random sampling will demonstrate the general character of his campaign. On July 4 he spoke at Newark in the morning and then rode on to Zanesville in the afternoon. There he addressed a huge outdoor audience, including many excursionists who had come up the Muskingum River on the steamboat *Moxahala*. At three o'clock, with Corwin still speaking, the boat whistle blew the audience aboard for the return trip and, writes one observer of the scene, it was with "crying and sweearing" that the people "stopped to listen, forgot themselves, started again when the whistle blew, stopped again . . . to be aroused again and again by the remorseless whistle. . . ."[28] Later in July Corwin held a joint debate at Columbus with Thomas L. Hamer, the most popular Democratic speaker of the state,[29] and also spoke to

[18] James Heaton to Charles Heaton, October 17, 1830, Heaton MSS, Library of Congress. The exception was undoubtedly the more experienced Henry Clay.

[19] Corwin to Bemis Adams, April 9, 1840, Corwin MSS, Library of Congress.

[20] *Recollections of a Busy Life* (1868), p. 132.

[21] *Congressional Globe*, 26 Cong., I Sess., p. 200-201.

[22] *Memoirs*, X, 219.

[23] B. P. Poore, *Perley's Reminiscences* (Philadelphia, 1886), I, 234-235.

[24] T. E. Powell, ed., *The Democratic Party of the State of Ohio* (Columbus, 1913), I, 97.

[25] Josiah Morrow, *Life and Speeches of Thomas Corwin* (Cincinnati, 1896), p. 37; *Clinton Republican* clipping, n.d., Morrow MSS-2, Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society.

[26] *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White* (1905), I, 50.

[27] Corwin to John J. Crittenden, November 20, 1840, Crittenden MSS, Library of Congress.

[28] Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-44.

[29] Morrow, *Corwin*, p. 37.

the Tippecanoe Club at Hamilton, out-of-doors because no hall would hold the crowd, on "women's political importance."[30]

On August 6 Corwin visited Batavia, addressing a great crowd said to have numbered 10,000 people who came "from miles distant to hear him, on foot, on horse-back, in wagons, ox-carts, or any conveyance they could obtain."[31] At Norwalk Corwin spoke to 6,000, and 8,000 were in his audience at Unionville, including at least 1,000 women each time. During the final week of August he spoke six times on the Western Reserve to an estimated 53,000 persons.[32] One of these rallies was held in Cleveland with Thomas Ewing, Joshua Giddings, and Francis Granger on the platform with him. Granger later reported to Thurlow Weed that "the convention at this place was very large. . . . They do these things in a style far beyond us in New York. I have never seen matters so well managed. . . . Corwin and Ewing are making a tour of the State with prodigious effect. There is hardly a stronger 'two cattle team' in the nation."[33] Despite an attack of cholera morbus in early September, Corwin continued in the canvass, travelling over the few turnpikes in Ohio, and often riding through mud and rain, following the speaking itinerary laid down for him by the Whig State Committee.[34] One of the largest campaign rallies was held at Warren. The contemporary account of the *Cleveland Herald* declared that it was "without parallel, even in this day of magnificent assemblages of the people. The number is estimated at from 15 to 20,000. The display of banners, mottos, big teams and big wagons was grand and animated. 'Tom Corwin's buggy,' brought in over 200 persons from one neighborhood, drawn by 32 yoke of oxen. A car, decked with evergreens until it resembled a moving wood, was filled by some 60 ladies, and drawn by 8 or 10 span of horses, each span under the guidance of a youth in jocky uniform. . . . All the counties contiguous, both in Ohio and Pennsylvania, poured out in their thousands to hear Ohio's favorite wagon boy. Tom was at home among them, making his very happiest effort."[35]

Though the Whig party of 1840 could hardly have been called the "people's party" it succeeded in reaching and winning the masses by a potpourri of circus fanfare, political hokum, and appeals to prejudice and special interest. With a keen sense of frontier psychology the Whigs staged parades with colorful floats and banners; they relied upon the symbolic use of log cabins to urge Harrison, and wagons for Tom Corwin; and they introduced the campaign song. To his Democratic opponent they sang derisively, "Oh Wilson Shannon will get a tannin', from Tom, the Wagoner Boy!"[36] And the masses were charmed, sometimes in crowds reputed to have been as large as a hundred thousand, "by the prospect of what amounted to a circus with a serious aim. . . ."[37] At the largest meeting of the campaign, held in Dayton, it was alleged that "the body of people assembled covered ten acres by actual measurement,"[38] and when General Harrison addressed an audience of 15,000 at Lebanon one editor was moved to apologize for the small crowd, "it being only a neighborhood meeting."[39] It was the stump

[30] Historical note, *Hamilton Journal*, September 13, 1941.

[31] Interview with a member of the audience, Judge P. B. Swing; typewritten copy in the possession of the Misses Gertrude and Mary Cropper, Lebanon, Ohio.

[32] F. P. Weisenburger, *The Passing of the Frontier, 1825-1850* (Vol. III, *History of the State of Ohio*, Carl Wittke, ed., Columbus, 1941), p. 393.

[33] Granger to Thurlow Weed, September 2, 1840, Gideon and Francis Granger MSS, Library of Congress.

[34] *Ohio State Journal* clipping, n.d., Morrow MSS-2.

[35] *Niles' Register*, September 12, 1840.

[36] M. M. Miller, *American Debate: A History of Political and Economic Controversy in the United States* . . . (1916), II, 206.

[37] C. R. Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1840* (Vol. VI, *A History of American Life*, 1935), p. 165.

[38] Josiah Morrow, *History of Warren County* (Chicago, 1882), p. 339.

[39] *Niles' Register*, September 26, 1840.

speaking as much as the spectacle that drew the crowds; in Ohio, wrote one contemporary, "men would travel twenty or thirty miles" to hear Tom Corwin, and "plain farmers . . . would stand for hours under a burning sun or in a pelting rain, seemingly oblivious to everything but the speeches by which their attention was absorbed."[40] Here were the common people, the newly-enfranchised voters who came to hear Corwin "in vast crowds—perfect caravansaries," wrote another observer. "He often spoke to audiences which covered, with their wagons, tents, and the inevitable log-cabins, several hundred square acres. The farmers in the idle season followed him from county to county, holding their peculiar Western barbecues at each point at which he spoke, and living, in the meantime, in their tents and log cabins."[41]

These were the crowds, this was the setting for the orgies of oratory, hard cider and buffoonery with which the Whigs of Ohio won their state for Harrison and Corwin. But what issues were at stake; what arguments did the stump speakers use to sway the masses? One observer put the answer bluntly: "There was no attempt on their part to discuss the policy of the respective candidates or the principles of government. With their cider barrels on wheels . . . their coonskin caps . . . together with their uniformed companies . . . carrying flags by day and transparencies by night, they completely overwhelmed all argument. . . ."[42] The orators of the party eloquently depicted the sins of the administration, described its scandals, and appealed to all of the latent prejudices of the poor, self-reliant, and aggressive frontier democrats, but studiously avoided anything more positive than what Corwin called "promises of great *amendments* in the administration of public affairs."[43] That these men were sincere in their promises of reform may be questioned; perhaps it was enough for them to see that thus they could win, and they accepted the conditions they found and made the most of them.

Before the campaign began Corwin had hopefully written a friend in South Carolina that, "There is a God in Israel. The effects of our misrule are now beginning to be felt. . . . The whole *people feel* rather than *think* that they have been cajoled, cheated, & *fooled*."[44] Certainly the stump appeals were addressed to the feelings rather than the thoughts of the hearers. Throughout the campaign the orators shouted charges of "extravagant expenditures and anti-republican habits in and around the White House."[45] At the district convention of Clinton, Highland, and Warren counties Corwin played on this theme, saying little of Harrison's qualifications for the Presidency, but emphasizing the iniquities of Van Buren. The *Clinton Republican* summed up his arguments: "He graphically portrayed the evils of the party in power—the dangerous tendency of its doctrines, and the blighting influence it has exercised over the people, by the paralyzing of trade and commerce—by crippling the energies of the people, and by disregarding the true and legitimate interests of the country for the purpose of carrying out its anti-republican and monarchical measures."[46]

When he spoke at Batavia before 10,000 people Corwin devoted much of his speech to an attack upon a bill providing for flogging in the Navy, recommended by Forsyth, of Van Buren's cabinet. One of his hearers recalled that Corwin "pictured in sad colors the sufferings

[40] Hugh McCulloch, *Men and Measures of Half a Century* (1889), pp. 62-63.
[41] Shanks, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
[42] J. C. Guild, *Old Times in Tennessee* (Nashville, 1878), p. 161.
[43] Corwin to John J. Crittenden, November 20, 1840, Crittenden MSS.
[44] Corwin to H. S. Legare, February 26, 1840, Corwin MSS.
[45] H. A. Weed and T. W. Barnes, eds., *The Life of Thurlow Weed* (Boston, 1884), I, 490.
[46] *Clinton Republican* clipping, n.d., Morrow MSS-2.

of the sailors who braved all, and suffered all for meager wages, and who for trifling offenses were courtmartialed, lashed to drums, and flogged by the merciless hand of a boat-swain, degraded in their manhood, deprived of a fair hearing, beaten like dogs, and sent scourged and bleeding in chains and silence to the confinement of the hold—and all this to satisfy the malice and indulge the caprice of a Democratic Secretary of the Navy." With the crowd "weeping at the graphic picture" the spell was broken by an aggressive young democrat who demanded to know if the bill had actually become law. "No! and God forbid it ever should!" thundered Corwin, to a chorus of "Amen!" from his Whig partisans.[47] Such was the stump orator's appeal to what the people could "feel rather than think." When it was combined with the fanfaronade of Forty, "the administration was sung and stung to death." It was a tribute to the power of songs, slogans, and stump speakers, though it was hardly a tribute to the intelligence of the masses or the vision of their leaders.

III. The "Superfluency" of Stump Speaking

Tom Corwin, in his day, was not only "king of the stump." When he retired from the House in 1840 the Washington correspondent of the New York *Morning Herald* characterized him as "the ablest, most eloquent and successful speaker in the American Congress."[48] And in the courtroom his fellow attorneys commonly remarked that to give him the closing speech in a criminal case was to give him the verdict; "his appeals to a jury were equivalent to an acquittal."[49] But while Corwin's decade in Congress had schooled him in the style of formal legislative speaking and his earlier forensic experiences had trained him in the diffuse declamatory manner of the frontier courts, neither of these patterns, unmodified, could fit him for the role of an effective stump speaker in the Forties. This was a time of which John Nichol, the English critic, could write, "The West has long been noted for fluency—often superfluency of speech,"[50] and the stump speaker of the period did his part in earning the British quip, tailoring the techniques developed in the courtrooms and legislatures to fit his new popular audiences.

In manner of delivery, first of all, the stump speaker tended to an exaggerated and declamatory style. Though Corwin apparently relied less than some of his fellows upon vocal noise and vehemence it was said of him that "never had a speaker more complete control over his voice, or voice more power over an audience." Within a few sentences "it would often expand from the lowest conversational tone, audible only in the speaker's immediate vicinity, to a climax which would startle his thousands of hearers in the remotest galleries."[51] Even Rufus Choate confessed that Corwin "would fill the cup of your eyes with tears in a single sentence."[52] More than upon his voice, however, Corwin relied upon gestures and facial expression to entertain and persuade his hearers. Though one listener insisted that "His grotesquerie and facial grimaces detracted from, if they did not inhibit, the dignity that gives impressiveness to oratory,"[53] it is apparent that Corwin's audiences cared little for dignity. They welcomed "those indescribable looks with which Corwin

[47] Interview with Judge P. B. Swing, *op. cit.*
[48] *Morning Herald* clipping, 1840, Morrow MSS-2.
[49] G. I. Reed, ed., *Bench and Bar of Ohio* (Chicago, 1897), I, 248.
[50] *American Literature: An Historical Sketch, 1620-1880* (Edinburgh, 1882), p. 97.
[51] Shanks, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.
[52] E. G. Parker, *Reminiscences of Rufus Choate* (1860), p. 302.
[53] W. J. Armstrong, "Thomas Corwin: Reminiscences of an Eccentric American Orator," *Los Angeles Times*, March 8, 1908.

can at any time throw an audience into convulsions," wrote a contemporary editor,[54] and General Charles Henry Grosvenor, who often heard Corwin on the stump and in Congress, assured Champ Clark that "his wonderful effect upon an audience depended more upon his marvellous facial expression than upon anything he said."[55] Like William Jennings Bryan, Tom Corwin could probably have controlled his hearers though he were behind a screen with only his face showing.

In his general style of speaking Corwin, like most stump orators of the period, was more conversational than didactic, demonstrative rather than deliberative. Western oratory was admittedly verbose and intumescent and, though Corwin perhaps tried to avoid these extremes by absorbing the moderate tone of the great British orators whose speeches he often read over before an effort of his own, his speaking was usually extempore,[56] and when on the stump he tended to rely more heavily upon a seemingly inexhaustible supply of anecdotes, historical allusions, illustrations, and droll stories than upon closely-knit argument. In this perhaps he was more the rhetorician than the logician, but it was a style suited to the desires of his auditors.

From his arsenal of oratorical weapons Tom Corwin, like most stump speakers of his day, most often drew the broadsword of humor, the rapier of imagery, and the dagger of invective. In the use of each he was unexcelled, entertaining his audience with witty anecdotes, carrying his argument by rhetorical flights of fancy, and excoriating his opponents with sarcasm and ridicule. Perhaps Corwin's greatest strength on the stump was that he entertained as well as instructed; he "put a principle or a reason in the form of a jest so that it would go farther than even eloquence could carry it with the whimsical Western people."[57] His jests might be at the expense of an opponent in the campaign, simply humorous and relevant stories, or even bits of self-satire based upon the fact of his swarthy appearance, so dark that he was often reputedly mistaken for a mulatto. He often used his complexion as a foil for humor,[58] and seldom with more effect than when he spoke at Marietta, pestered by a heckler who kept asking, "Shouldn't niggers be permitted to sit at the table with white folks, on steamboats and at hotels?" Corwin, knowing that an affirmative reply would alienate his proslavery hearers and that a negative response would arouse the Abolitionists, let the audience look at his dark, mobile countenance, and then said, "Fellow-citizens, I ask whether it is proper to ask such a question of a gentleman of my color?" In the gale of appreciative laughter that followed Corwin swept on to another point and the heckler was forgotten.[59]

The florid and fanciful images, spacious, rhythmical and vivid, which marked the language of the Western lawyer before a jury of twelve men were carried over by the stump speaker before a political rally of thousands. Corwin's speeches were filled with such references as he once made to Benjamin Franklin, "the philosopher of America who played with the forked lightning of heaven as a

[54] *Ohio State Journal*, September 1, 1858.

[55] *My Quarter Century of American Politics* (1920), II, 206; also McCulloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

[56] Morrow, *Corwin*, 84; Adams, *Memoirs*, X 272; Isaac Strohm, *Speeches of Thomas Corwin, with a Sketch of His Life* (Dayton, 1859), iii; letter, April 2, 1842, inviting him to speak before the Calliopean Society of Granville College, *Executive Records: Correspondence, April-May, 1842*, Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society.

[57] W. D. Howells, *Stories of Ohio* (1897), p. 266; also Sargent, *op. cit.*, II, 315.

[58] Howells, *op. cit.*, p. 266; Shanks, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83; Poore, *op. cit.*, Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 40; A. G. W. Carter, *The Old Court House: Reminiscences and Anecdotes of the Courts and Bar of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1880), pp. 46-47.

[59] Poore, *op. cit.*, p. 209; also Clark, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 187-188; McClure, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-114, tells the story as Corwin later related it to him.

child plays with a tamed snake."[60] In his legislative speaking he drew heavily upon Milton, Byron, Dryden, Gibbon, and other classicists for allusions and illustrations, but when he spoke from the stump Corwin turned more often to the Bible for his imagery, employing the language of the prophets of old with a fervor of his own. When an illustration proved itself effective he used it time and again in his speaking, even many years later;[61] he was continually polishing and adding to his stock of favorite images, illustrations, and historical anecdotes, so that he might blend humor and pathos into his "rare dramatic faculty" so much admired by Charles Sumner.[62]

First developed in the rough-and-tumble contests of the courtroom, the weapon of invective, ridicule and sarcasm was adopted by the stump speaker. In Congress, Corwin's powerful sarcasm had made him "the terror of all younger members,"[63] and on the stump he was often merciless in employing it to silence hecklers and confound opponents. As early as 1830 ridicule was his weapon in unseating Congressman James Shields on the famous "night-shirt issue." Shields was known to be fastidious in dress, powdering his hair even before going out to plow, and appearing always in a fine cambric shirt. But at night-time he reputedly took off his cambric shirt and donned a night-shirt. This was a fertile situation for Corwin and, as he later told his friends, the issue was whether a man should be returned to Congress who was 'too good to sleep in the shirt he wore during the day![64] In the campaign of 1840 Corwin continually echoed the "withering yet good-natured sarcasm" with which he had sprinkled his "Reply to General Crary," a speech which, by its ridicule and caustic flaying, was said literally to have killed the political career of the Michigan Congressman.[65]

Though not all stump speakers could be said to have been good-natured and dignified in their employment of invective, Corwin usually was, though the effect was none the less devastating. He was full of good humor at Bethel, in 1842, when he parried the charge that he had entered politics for profit, saying, "I can make more money remaining at home defending Democrats in assault and battery and petit larceny cases at thirty-seven and a half cents a head";[66] but when, in later campaigns, his hecklers reminded him of his opposition to the Mexican War, Corwin laid on the lash with vigor, though still with dignity. One of his victims, later to become his staunch supporter, "begged him to desist, in the presence of the audience, promising never to offend again."[67] And Corwin's son later recounted the goading by a Democratic newspaper editor in Edwardsville, Illinois, which led to Corwin's lengthy and righteous Biblical denunciation of him as "Issachar, the overburdened ass." So indelibly did Corwin mark the unhappy journalist with his invective that Governor William Bebb later reported that "Issachar" had escaped public ridicule only by leaving town for good.[68]

Fashions in oratory change, even as do the times in which they flourish, and the emergence of the Midwestern stump speaker was a deliberate adaptation to the changing pattern of American politics. By 1840 he was an integral part of the new pattern, an important political force in the process of molding public opinion. His methods, too, were products of the times, even his declamatory de-

[60] Judge G. W. Stipp, *Bellefontaine Examiner*, October 16, 1897.
[61] Morrow, *Corwin*, p. 84; Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-80.
[62] E. L. Pierce, *Memoirs and Letters of Charles Sumner* (London, 1893), III, 155.
[63] Shanks, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
[64] Morrow, *Corwin*, pp. 27-28; also James A. Garfield to George A. Robertson, March 2, 1878, Morrow MSS-2.
[65] Sargent, *op. cit.*, II, 106; White, *op. cit.*, I, 51.
[66] Interview with Judge P. B. Swing, *op. cit.*
[67] *Ibid;* at Batavia, 1848.
[68] Interview with Dr. W. H. Corwin, *Chicago Tribune*, March 20, 1879. The incident took place in 1860 when Corwin was campaigning for Lincoln.

livery, his flamboyant style, and his special weapons of spontaneous humor, florid imagery, and bitter invective. Tom Corwin, riding the campaign circuit of Ohio, was a practitioner of this new and specialized type of public address.

COLONEL ISAAC BARRÉ—COSSACK OF THE OPPOSITION: THE OPENING OF HIS CAREER

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THE twenty years following the accession of George III in 1760 present as dismal a prospect as any in English political and parliamentary history. During that time elections were as corrupt, public servants as venal, and the forms of representative government as empty as any history can show. Yet, in spite of the degradation of Parliament, in spite of the paid majority of voices maintained in the House of Commons by the Court, in spite of the almost absolute power wielded by the Ministry, few serious attempts were made generally to muzzle the opposition. True, individuals were occasionally deprived of offices and sinecures in the gift of the Crown because those individuals had dared to vote in opposition to the Ministry on questions important to the Court party; and the treatment of Wilkes was anything but characteristic of the free operation of representative government. Within wide limits, however, Opposition always enjoyed full command of its rights to the floor, and Opposition used those rights freely. Furthermore, though Government was not without able debaters in the Commons, like Lord North, Wedderburn, and Grenville, speakers for the Opposition repeatedly outspoke and out debated the Government. The great reputations of Burke and Fox were made almost completely in opposition; and only because the abilities of Burke and Fox, and later on of Sheridan and the younger Pitt, were so far above the ordinary, is slight attention given by historians and by students of public speaking to a number of lesser orators and debaters who bore a large share of the day-to-day parliamentary opposition to the governments of Bute and North. These men set the tone and filled in the body of the medium in which Burke and Fox functioned, provided the comparisons and contrasts by which Burke and Fox were measured, and largely determined the kind and quality of the oratory and debate in the parliaments of George III.

I

Among the first in this second rank of opposition orators stands Colonel Isaac Barré, who from the outset attracted attention far above that paid to all but a very few newcomers to the House of Commons. In his first speech, a vituperative attack on the war policy of Pitt and on the personal character of the Great Commoner, he established himself as a man to be feared and reckoned with. Just as suddenly he was catapulted to fame in America on an accidental phrase which he let drop in an off-hand speech against the Stamp Act.

For many years the name of Colonel Barré was honored in America only less highly than the names of our own heroes of the struggle for independence. More than either of America's two greatest champions in Parliament, Burke and

Chatham, did Barré catch the imagination of the Americans. Only Wilkes seems to have enjoyed a comparable renown.

Barré's career as an American hero began suddenly with the publication in the newspapers in May, 1765, of a report of a short speech he had made in the House of Commons in reply to Charles Townshend. The debate on the Stamp Act had been languid. Nine years later, Burke, who at the time of the passage of the Stamp Act had not yet entered Parliament, observed:

> They [the Ministry] say, that opposition made in Parliament to the Stamp Act, at the time of its passing, encouraged the Americans to their resistance. This has even formally appeared in print in a regular volume from an advocate of that faction. . . . But this assertion . . . is false. In all the papers which have loaded your table, in all the vast crowd of verbal witnesses that appeared at your bar . . . not the least hint of such a cause of disturbance has ever appeared. As to the fact of a strenuous opposition to the Stamp Act, I sat as a stranger in your gallery when the act was under consideration. Far from anything inflammatory, I never heard a more languid debate in this House. No more than two or three gentlemen, as I remember, spoke against the act, and that with great reserve and remarkable temper. There was but one division in the whole progress of the bill; and the minority did not reach more than 39 or 40. In the House of Lords I do not recollect that there was any debate or division at all. I am sure there was no protest. In fact, the affair passed with so very, very little noise, that in town they scarcely knew the nature of what was doing. The opposition to the bill in England never could have done this mischief, because there scarcely ever was less opposition to a bill of consequence.[1]

In Hansard's *Parliamentary History* there is the following note: "This Act passed the Commons almost without debate; two or three members spoke against it, but without force or apparent interest, except a vehement harangue from Colonel Barré."[2] Four years later Barré himself said of his speech, "The Stamp Act, Sir, I opposed with great good humour."[3]

Burke, of course, was, strictly speaking, right. The debate on the Stamp Act did not cause the opposition which arose in America. Barré's speech, however, good humored though it may have been, provided a rallying cry for opposition in the Colonies, through the fortuitous circumstance that it alone among the speeches on the act was reported in America, by Jared Ingersoll of Connecticut, in a letter printed in the newspapers under the head of "New London, May 10, 1765."[4] In this comparatively obscure speech Barré applied to the Americans the epithet "Sons of Liberty." The phrase caught on quickly, and before long, societies of patriots calling themselves the Sons of Liberty had sprung up in the Colonies.

The occasion in Parliament seems in fact to have been as perfunctory and routine as the accounts allege. Charles Townshend, Paymaster-General, and later to become Chancellor of the Exchequer and special anathema to the Americans, concluded a Ministerial speech for the stamp duty, to the following effect:

> These children of our own planting, nourished by our indulgence until they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load of national expense which we lie under?

When Townshend had concluded, Barré arose to counter for the Opposition. After some previous vacillation, he had by now confirmed his political allegiance and had become by 1765 one of the most reliable

[1] "Speech on American Taxation," Burke, *Works*, 12 vols. (Boston, 1894), II, 57-58.

[2] XVI, 37-40.

[3] *Cavendish Debates*, I, 206.

[4] The best text of this speech may be found in Richard Frothingham, *The Rise of the Republic of the United States* (9th ed., Boston, 1905), 175, note 3, from the *Boston Post Boy and Advertiser* of May 27, 1765. The speech was reprinted, much altered, the next year in a pamphlet, *Mr. Ingersoll's Letters Relating to the Stamp Act*, with a preface dated "New Haven, June 15, 1766." This later version is the one usually encountered.

battlers in the ranks of anti-Court parties in the House of Commons. Well known for a vigorous brand of attack, Barré might be expected to oppose Townshend with a "vehement harangue," and on this subject his own personal knowledge of America and his affection for the Americans may, as he asserted, have raised his remarks somewhat above the level of a party attack. At best, however, the setting and the preliminaries hardly provided the dramatic background for the launching of a battle cry considered by one American historian as comparable to Patrick Henry's famous sentence, "Caesar had his Brutus. . . ."[5]

Perhaps Barré arose and stood, as Ingersoll reported, "with eyes darting fire and an outstretched arm," and spoke "with a voice somewhat elevated and with a sternness in his countenance which expressed in a most lively manner the feelings of his heart." At any rate, he used with skill and energy the old reliable debater's trick of seizing his opponent's key sentence, making each part of it the theme of a paragraph of rebuttal, and turning each part into its direct contrary. Townshend had mentioned "children of our own planting." Barré began, "Children planted by your care? No! Your oppression planted them in America; they fled from your tyranny." To Townshend's next phrase, "nourished by our indulgence . . . ," Barré reported, "They nourished by your indulgence? They grew by your neglect of them." And from Townshend's "protected by our arms," Barré launched into his last paragraph beginning, "They protected by your arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defense."

The speech gives further evidence of being a debater's impromptu counter-attack. With what he had seen of Americans fighting in the French and Indian War Barré expanded the theme of his last paragraph with the idea that men who would fight as the Americans fought against the enemies of England would fight as valiantly against their own enemies even should they find those enemies to be in England. "I claim to know more of *America* than most of you," he says, "having seen and been conversant in that country. The people there are as truly loyal, I believe, as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if they should be violated. "But," he concludes suddenly, to give the impression that he leaves much unsaid, "the subject is too delicate. I will say no more." Had Barré given more thought to the planning of his speech (or had his reporter, Ingersoll, been more of a rhetorician), the phrase "Sons of Liberty" would doubtless have appeared in the final warning in the peroration. As a matter of fact, the famous epithet is all but buried in a tortuous sentence in the second paragraph, in which Barré, in his characteristic vein of personal abuse, is excoriating the miserable minions sent out by Government to rule the Colonies.

> As soon as you began to care for them [he charges], that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, in one department or another, who were perhaps the deputies of some deputy of members of this House, sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them—men whose behavior, on many occasions, had caused the blood of those Sons of Liberty to recoil within them,—men promoted to the highest seats of justice: some, to my knowledge, were glad by going to foreign countries to escape being brought to a bar of justice in their own.

Nevertheless, with Jared Ingersoll's assistance, the phrase stuck, and soon Barré's progeny, the Sons of Liberty, were numbered in the thousands. Barré's military services in America were remembered. His continued fight for the cause

[5] H. W. Elson, *History of the United States of America* (New York, 1927), p. 207.

of the Colonies in Parliament confirmed his reputation. He and Wilkes jointly were honored in the naming of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, and when the town of Hutchinson, Massachusetts, petitioned to be relieved of its hated name in 1776, the General Assembly of Massachusetts passed a measure naming the town Barre.

When the town of Barre celebrated its centennial in 1874 all available powers of poetry, oratory, and art were taxed to do honor to the memory of Isaac Barré. A generous "son of Barre living abroad" presented to the town a life size copy of a half length portrait of the hero painted for General Amherst by Gilbert Stuart. The portrait was unveiled at an elaborate public ceremony at which a long historical discourse was presented by the Reverend James W. Thompson and a poem of some hundred and fifty lines declaimed by Charles Brimblecom. The poem incorporated the following paraphrase of portions of Barré's speech:

> They, exiles! planted by your care!
> 'Twas your oppression drove them there,
> Nourished by your indulgence! No!
> 'Twas your neglect that made them grow.
> Protected by your arms! They fought
> In your defense; unaided wrought
> In those far wilds to build a state
> To make your empire wide and great.

The festivities were concluded with a toast to Barré: *"Col. Isaac Barré:* A poor emigrant's son; a gallant soldier; a leader of fashion; and a glorious defender of popular rights. May the town prove worthy of the name it bears."[6]

Concerning further evidences of the renown and honor gained by Barré in America, Mr. George F. Babbitt of the Boston *Post,* a speaker at the Barre Centennial, referred to Barré's famous speech as one "which every schoolboy knows by heart," and asserted that shortly after the speech was printed in America, a meeting was held in Boston, presided over by James Otis, at which a committee of eminent citizens was appointed to draw up an address to Colonel Barré "expressing the sincere thanks of the citizens for his noble, generous, and truly patriotic speech in behalf of the colonies." The meeting also voted that his picture be placed in Faneuil Hall as a standing monument for all posterity to the virtue and justice of their benefactor, and as a lasting proof of their gratitude.[7] Later the Continental Congress commissioned Gilbert Stuart to paint a portrait of him.

That Barré was not unaware of his consequence in America or unwilling to acknowledge it is suggested by his reference to the Sons of Liberty while ridiculing Governor Bernard in a speech on the affairs of America. The reference occurs only a few lines below his comment on his own part in the debate on the Stamp Act.[8]

II

By the time he made his speech on the Stamp Act, Colonel Isaac Barré had already reached a position of consequence in the House of Commons. Born in Dublin in 1726, he was the son of a Huguenot refugee. His father, Peter Barré, had fled from Rochelle, had come to Dublin in 1720, and had been set up in a small business by the Bishop of Clogher, whose child Mrs. Barré is said to have nursed. Thereafter Peter Barré rose gradually to a position of some prominence. A member of the Royal Dublin Society of Arts and Husbandry from its founding in 1750, he became one of its governors. He was Sheriff of Dublin in 1756 and Alderman in 1758, the latter of which positions he probably held until his death about 1776. In 1766, besides a warehouse in Fleet Street, Dublin, he had a country

[6] The full account of this ceremony may be found in *A Memorial of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Town of Barre . . .* (Cambridge, Press of J. Wilson and Son, 1875).

[7] *Ibid.*, 201-202.

[8] *Cavendish Debates,* I, 206.

house at Cullen's Wood.[9] His father's financial competence, therefore, assured Isaac of the means to a reasonably good education and rendered him later not wholly dependent upon his military and political employment for a mere living.

Barré's preparation for a career of political and parliamentary rough and tumble seems to have been solid, though there is little but inferential evidence of its extent and kind. His education was very similar to Burke's, whom he preceded along the way by about four years, and of about the same quality. He had his preparatory education in the usual classical manner under a Dr. Loyd, and entered Trinity College, Dublin, on November 19, 1740. He was placed under Dr. Pelissier, who became Burke's tutor four years later. At Trinity such a student as Barré studied classical languages and literatures, logic, and rhetoric, and was required to give periodic public demonstrations of his ability to compose and recite Latin verses and to declaim Latin prose. He also had plenty of time for reading in history and philosophy, and for talking, debating, and attending the theater. Horace Walpole reports the story that Barré acted plays in his early days with such distinction (perhaps during his time at Trinity, or perhaps later) that Garrick once offered him £1000 a year to go on the stage.[10]

Barré, however, was intended for the law, which he may have pursued briefly. He became a Scholar at Trinity in 1744 and took his degree in 1745. In the latter year, also, he was sent to London, where his name was entered at one of the Inns of Court. Nevertheless, neither the law nor the stage was to claim him. On February 12, 1746, he was commissioned ensign in the 32nd Regiment of Foot, then in Flanders, and for the next ten years, presumably with reasonable assiduity, he pursued his apprenticeship in the Army, becoming a lieutenant on October 1, 1755. During 1747 his regiment was in England, and in 1748 on the Continent most of the time. Barré was at Gibralter, certainly most of the time, from 1749 to 1753. The experience he gained there, as well as later in America, he often employed with telling advantage in his speeches in Parliament. From 1754 to 1757 his assignment was in Scotland, where he was probably not tied very closely or continuously to the duties of his command.

During all these years, there is evidence that Barré, like most officers similarly circumstanced, was far from leading an exclusively military life. Walpole says that throughout his service in the Army, Barré prosecuted "his studies with assiduity in the intervals of duty"; and it is quite possible that Garrick's offer of a career on the stage was made (if at all) during this time. It would be strange, indeed, had Barré not learned much about public life and had he not become acquainted with men who could be helpful to him as his career developed.

It was, however, the next period in Barré's active military service that brought him those connections which were to have the most important influences on his future advancement. By 1757 he had made the acquaintance and had attracted the favor of that brilliant soldier James Wolfe, then Colonel of the 20th Foot, under whom the young Lord William Fitzmaurice had recently been placed by his father. Wolfe took both young men with him as subaltern officers on the expedition against Rochefort in 1757, Barré as a volunteer. Thus began at once Barré's chief military and his chief political connections.

[9] The scanty biographical information now available for the time up to Barré's emergence in politics comes chiefly from Lord Fitzmaurice, *Life of the Earl of Shelburne*, 2 vols. (2d ed. rev., London, 1912), and John Britton, *The Authorship of the Letters of Junius Elucidated: Including a Biographical Memoir of Lieutenant-Colonel Isaac Barré, M.P.* (London, 1848).

[10] *Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Third*, 4 vols. (London, 1845), I, 110.

It is likely that Wolfe encouraged Barré in that pursuit of his studies mentioned by Walpole, for Fitzmaurice recorded that under circumstances similar to Barré's, Wolfe made him read "not only military books but philosophy," gave him "liberal notions of every kind," and "unprejudiced his mind."[11] The evidence for Wolfe's attention to Barré's military advancement, however, is beyond question. In 1758 he took Barré with him as Major of Brigade to the attack on Louisbourg. After the fall of Louisbourg, Barré and Wolfe returned to England, where Wolfe, now General Wolfe, almost at once undertook the organization of a special command for an attack against Quebec. By the time the expedition sailed in February, 1759, two promotions had given Barré the rank of Captain in the Army and Major in America, as well as the staff position of Deputy Adjutant General to General Wolfe. With the organization of the army at Halifax Barré became Adjutant General. Among his duties was the writing of Wolfe's dispatches, including the famous "choice of difficulties" dispatch of September 2. In the Battle of Quebec, in which Wolfe was mortally wounded, a bullet lodged in Barré's cheek and remained there, giving a peculiar distortion to his face for the rest of his life. According to Barré, had Wolfe lived, he would have sent Barré to England with news of the victory. With Wolfe dead and General Monckton disabled, however, active command devolved upon Townshend, who gave to a Colonel Hale the honor of carrying the news to England. When, in a few days, Monckton resumed command, Townshend was made a colonel and Barré given a company under him. Townshend soon returned to England, and Barré, smarting under his disappointment and Townshend's pointed discrimination against him, spent the winter in New York.

[11] Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne*, I, 72.

The apparent injustice of his situation grew upon him. He could get no help for advancement from Monckton or Murry; so on April 28, 1760, he wrote a most remarkable letter directly to the Prime Minister, Pitt. In neither modest nor exaggerated terms he recounted his service to his country, described the favor in which he had stood with General Wolfe, and asked for the promotion which he was sure he would have received had his friend lived. To receive from the hand of Pitt, he confessed, that Lieutenant-Colonelcy which he should by rights have had when he was made Adjutant General, would be the "most flattering circumstance" of his life, for, he continued, was it not Pitt who had honored Wolfe with so important a command.[12] Pitt replied with a refusal on the ground that senior officers would be injured by the promotion. In the meantime Wolfe's army had been combined with General Amherst's, and Montreal was taken on September 8, 1760. Amherst, who had first noticed Barré at Louisbourg, now befriended and favored him. Hence Barré found himself bearer of the news to London, where he arrived on October 5. With his present mark of Amherst's favor to support him, he wrote again to Pitt on October 8, sarcastically expressing himself as "bound in the highest gratitude" for the attention he had received, and asking again for the promotion. The whole matter of the promotion was carried on by Barré with the energy and the tendency to intemperateness which later characterized him in the House of Commons.

After his return to London, Barré seems promptly to have resumed his acquaintance with Lord Fitzmaurice, which soon developed into a strong practical attachment. After a stormy scene with Lord Barrington, the Secretary of War, who later became one of the most frequent objects of Barré's attack, and the

[12] *Chatham Correspondence*, II, 41-43.

subsequent granting of his promotion on January 29, 1761, Barré went to Ireland on a tour of inspection of the estates of Lord Shelburne, Lord Fitzmaurice's father.[13] While in Dublin, Barré "engaged himself in a controversy with his father on the subject of the pecuniary arrangements between them."[14]

This latter incident may have a direct connection with certain circumstances mentioned by Britton as reported in a notice of Barré in the *Political Magazine* for 1776.[15] It is said that in 1760 and 1761 Barré was a skilful debater in the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company. Barré, says Britton, was certainly a proprietor, which he could be for £500. The necessary funds he could have had from his father, or if need be from his own current resources. In any event Barré later took much interest in the affairs of India, demonstrated much knowledge of them, and was at one point intended to be sent out as Governor General of Bengal. Furthermore, Lord Fitzmaurice, who became the Earl of Shelburne upon the death of his father in May, 1761, was much interested in the activities of the East India House. He may, therefore, have realized through those circumstances the possible uses of Barré's talents as a parliamentary speaker.

III

Certain it is that by late 1761 Barré has somewhere developed considerable ability as a ready speaker. Walpole says that Shelburne "held a little knot of young orators at his house; but Barré soon overtopped them."[16] Be that as it may, with the encouragement of his close associate, Henry Fox, and on the basis of what must have been adequate assurance of Barré's usefulness, Shelburne selected him to sit in Parliament for Chipping Wycombe, the borough which Shelburne himself had represented before his recent elevation to the House of Lords. Barré took his seat in December, 1761, and within two days had established himselfe as a speaker in the spectacular and violent fashion now to be described.

Responsibility for Barré's conduct in his maiden speech was certainly not primarily his own, but the terms in which he expressed himself were clearly not without personal motive. Walpole calls him a bravo selected by Fox and Shelburne to run down Mr. Pitt, and it is obvious that his initial function was intended to be the implementing in the House of Commons of the anti-Pitt, anti-war policy adopted by Shelburne and Fox as an essential part of their alliance with Bute and the Court party. Pitt, who was out of office and out of favor because of his personal behavior and because of his strenuous prosecution of the war, was by no means lacking still in political power and popular support. Hence strenuous measures had to be taken if the ministry were to secure itself against him. Barré's personal grievance against Pitt, what he considered Pitt's injustice to him in the matter of the Lieutenant-Colonelcy, made him not at all unwilling to undertake the task, and probably accounted for gratuitous elements of personal recrimination which the speech contained.

There is no reported text of Barré's famous speech, but from various summaries and descriptions a good idea may be gained of the circumstances and the content. One reporter, hostile to Barré and friendly to Pitt, sketches the following circumstances, as far as possible to Barré's discredit. On December 9, 1761, Pitt made an apparently conciliatory speech on the war with Spain, letting fall oblique censure of the Bute government. Throughout this speech Barré was seen making notes and leaning forward in his chair, which was just behind Pitt's,

[13] Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne*, I, 97, quoting letters of Barré to Shelburne.
[14] *Ibid.*, Barré to Shelburne, August 13, 1761.
[15] *Junius Elucidated*, p. 30.
[16] *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, I, 110.

as if to be ready to arise as soon as Pitt should conclude. Everyone assumed that Barré had been especially assigned the task of attacking Pitt. Hence all waited his reply with anxiety, and were amazed to see him remain stunned and silent when Pitt had finished. Nor did he speak during the rest of the day. Goaded and taunted with cowardice by Pitt's friends, however, and urged on by the friends of Bute and Fox, Barré launched his rejoinder the next day, when Pitt was not present. Though repeatedly called to order and heckled, Barré "poured out such a torrent of abuse as put even his friends out of countenance." When he had concluded, he was so much blamed for attacking Pitt in his absence that the next day, when Pitt was present, he repeated his attack even more vehemently.[17]

More specifically on the subject matter of the speech, Walpole reported:

> He told the House that in the late King's [George II's] reign we had been governed solely by Hanoverian measures and councils; and though called to order (in truth unparliamentarily), he proceeded with the same vociferous spirit to censure all ministers but Lord Bute; and for Mr. Pitt, who was not present, he received the appellation of a profligate minister, who had thrust himself into power on the shoulders of the mob. The present King, said this new Court-tribune, was so English, that he did not believe he had looked into the map for Hanover; and he commiserated the present ministers, who were labouring through the dregs of German councils.[18]

One of the Marquis of Rockingham's correspondents reported thus:

> After abusing our treaties, &c., he said the nation had been so biased in the late reign by the Court, that from the K—g to the lowest of the people, we were all Hanovers. Then he attacked Mr. Pitt's political principles, and said his life had been a series of change and contradiction, from the beginning to the end; that after the most violent protestations against Continental and Hanoverian connections, when he had thrust himself into the Ministry, chameleon-like, he took the colour of the ground he stood on. He then ridiculed his figure and action, saying, he was amazed to see the gentleman with solemn looks, with eyes uplifted to heaven, one hand beating on his breast, and formally contradicting and disowning the principles he had maintained the day before.[19]

One of Pitt's friends added:

> I shall give you a specimen of his philippics. Talking of the manner of Mr. Pitt's speaking, he said, "There he would stand, turning up his eyes to heaven, that witnessed his perjuries, and laying his hand in a solemn manner upon the table, that sacrilegious hand that had been employed in tearing out the bowels of his mother country."[20]

The immediate response to Barré's invective was mixed. "I fancy the House would not have suffered such scurrility on any other person," wrote one witness, "but they sneered to see the great warrior worried." Pitt made no reply, but once or twice during the speech he was heard to exclaim, "What's to be done?" And when Barré finally sat down, Pitt turned to his friend Beckford and said in a voice quite audible to Barré in the seat behind him, "How far the scalping Indians cast their tomahawks!" After the speech, when Barré was seen to eat a biscuit, someone exclaimed, "Does it eat biscuit? I should think you would feed it raw flesh!" Another observed that there was no one fit to enter against Barré except an officer in America known as "Kill 'em and eat 'em." When Charles Townshend was asked when the House would adjourn for the holidays, he replied, "I do not know, but when it does, the roads will be as dangerous as if the army were disbanded."[21]

There can be little doubt that the speech was violent, extravagant, excessively abusive, and in bad taste. It was

[17] *Cavendish Debates*, I, 563-564. *Cf.* Walpole, *George III*, I, 120-122.

[18] *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, I, 109-110.

[19] *Memoirs of Rockingham*, I, 81-82.

[20] *Chatham Correspondence*, II, 171.

[21] Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, I, 120-122; Albemarle, *Memoirs of Rockingham*, I, 82-83; *Cavendish Debates*, I, 564.

hardly the sort of performance to invite general applause as the maiden speech of a new member; yet there was general agreement that it was a powerful speech, perhaps even eloquent, and that it was executed with uncommon skill. The day following the speech Shelburne wrote to Fox, "I find that Colonel Barré's conduct, however blamed, meets with partizans"; and one of Pitt's friends, while execrating Barré's behavior, calls him "a young man of address and parts," and enquires, "Would you think that Mr. Pitt would hear this and be silent; or would you think that the House would suffer a respectable member to be thus treated? Yet so it was."[22] Rockingham's correspondent calls Barré a man "with a most consummate assurance, good figure, military countenance, and ready at his tongue"; and Walpole describes the effect on himself as follows:

> My ear was struck with sounds I had little been accustomed to of late, virulent abuse on the last reign and from a voice unknown to me. I turned and saw a face equally new; a black, robust man, of a military figure, rather hard-favoured than not young, with a peculiar distortion on one side of his face, which it seems was owing to a bullet lodged loosely in his cheek, and which gave a savage glare to one eye. What I less expected from his appearance, was a very classic and eloquent diction, and as determined boldness as if accustomed to harangue in that place.[23]

In spite of dire predictions that, of course, Barré would "be muzzled for the future," nothing of the sort happened. Though not so fast or so prodigally as Barré himself doubtless wished, favors began to come his way. In a letter to Shelburne in April, 1763, Barré recapitulated the circumstances in his own way. He wrote:

> When I came into Parliament Mr. Pitt, though out of office, possessed the House of Commons. Administration had, it is true, a great majority, but neither cordial nor spirited enough to produce one single man who would step forth and attack the insolent opposer of their measures. I took upon myself the dangerous and invidious task. A few days after I was pressed to go to Court, nay, it was urged as a measure. I obeyed, and there was honoured with more than common attention. I was soon universally pointed at as a most extraordinary probationer in parliamentary business, but being unfortunately a volunteer, as such I remained unnoticed and unrewarded. *En politique malhabile*, I had stipulated no terms, and of course met with that coldness which will ever be shewn to a parliamentary spirit, unassisted by parliamentary intrigue.[24]

In October, 1761, Barré had been made "Colonel proprietor" of the 106th regiment of Foot, undoubtedly through Shelburne's influence. It was not, however, until he had followed his maiden speech with further evidences of his usefulness to Government that he received, when his regiment was disbanded, the lucrative appointment as Adjutant-General to the British Forces. That appointment had come just before he wrote the letter just quoted. In the month following the writing of that letter, after Grenville had succeeded Bute as Prime Minister, and Shelburne had been made First Lord of the Board of Trade, Barré was appointed to the sinecure Governorship of Stirling Castle. His public emoluments then totalled about £4000 a year.

Barré's parliamentary career had thus been auspiciously, if unconventionally launched. He enjoyed office, however, for only a short time. Shelburne, gradually turning toward Pitt, resigned from the Government after five months. Barré soon followed Shelburne in opposing the Government during the prosecution of Wilkes and the *North Briton*. In consequence Barré and Shelburne were deprived of all their offices, and Barré was reduced to his half-pay Lieutenant-Colonelcy. Now fully and frankly in opposition, where he was always more effective than in defense, and shortly to be allied to Pitt in an attachment which

[22] Fitzmaurice, *Life of Shelburne*, I, 102; *Chatham Correspondence*, II, 171.
[23] *Memoirs of George III*, I, 109.
[24] *Life of Shelburne*, I, 102.

lasted until Pitt's death, Barré rapidly became one of the five or six most frequent speakers in the House of Commons. "As an opposition orator," writes W. P. Courtney in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "Barré was almost without rival. The terrors of his invective paralyzed Charles Townshend and dismayed Wedderburn. Among the opponents of Lord North's ministry none took a more prominent place than Barré." The evidence of the parliamentary records and the testimony of Barré's contemporaries confirm that appraisal.

REPORTS OF THE DEBATES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DURING THE FIRST CONGRESS, 1789-1791

ELIZABETH GREGORY McPHERSON
The Library of Congress

FORTY-FIVE years after the assembling of the First Congress of the United States, Gales and Seaton began the compilation of the *Annals of Congress*, covering the debates of that body from March 3, 1789 to May 27, 1824. This work, in 42 volumes, was printed between 1834 and 1856. Until its appearance, no attempt had been made to publish the debates of Congress for this period except in the newspapers and in the short-lived publications like Thomas Lloyd's *Congressional Register*, Thomas Carpenter's *American Senator*, James T. Callender's *Political Register*, his *American Register for the Year 1796*, and the *Congressional Register* (Twelfth Congress).

The *Annals of Congress* now form a much-used source. So satisfactory was it that another compilation of the debates covering the same period has never been undertaken. Perhaps, it is worth while to see how the debates of the House of Representatives of the First Congress, found in these familiar volumes, were reported and compiled.

The question of how Gales and Seaton collected and compiled the debates involves discussion. They had contemplated such a work long before the *Annals of Congress* was begun.[1] During the first session of the Fifteenth Congress, Gales and Seaton sent to every member of that body a circular letter, in which they proposed, at an early date, to undertake such a publication.[2] However, it was not until 1833 that the compilation of the debates was begun by Joseph Gales, Senior.[3] In the same year Gales and Seaton sent the first half of sheet of Gales's work to James Madison for his inspection. After stating that they had found that the debates "were often unavoidably imperfectly reported, having ourselves only the volumes of Lloyd, & Fenno's *Gazette* with the *Journals*, to compile from, it has occurred to us that you might have some material which you would spare to us for the purpose of embodying in this work."[4]

In reply Madison wrote that "his recollections" were "very barren," and he knew of no debates during the "period of Lloyd's except his," which were "very defective, and abound in errors, some of them very gross, where the speeches were not revised by the author."[5] Furthermore,

[1] *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), January 24, 1843; Gales and Seaton to James Madison, January 26, 1818. Papers of James Madison, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

[2] Gales and Seaton to James Madison, January 26, 1818. Madison MSS.

[3] Gales and Seaton to James Madison, July 29, 1833. Madison MSS.; *National Intelligencer* January 24, 1843.

[4] Gales and Seaton to James Madison, July 29, 1833. Madison MSS.

[5] James Madison to Gales and Seaton, August 5, 1833. Madison MSS.

while Congress sat in New York, he thought that "Fenno was the printer most to be looked to. On the removal to Philadelphia Frenneau's National Gazette was the favorite of the other party, and contains the debates in some instances when the speaker revised them."[6] He also stated that "whether the same be not in Fenno also, or in other Gazettes of the day . . . I cannot say. If there be a difference between Frenneau and Fenno in a Speech of mine Frenneau gives the correct one."

A collation of the *Annals of Congress*, the *Journals of the House of Representatives*, and Lloyd's *Congressional Register* shows that Gales and Seaton in compiling the debates of the House during the First Congress added quotations from the *Journals*, corrected some of Lloyd's verbosities, and changed a few citations of documents from the opening of Congress until the *Congressional Register* was discontinued on March 8, 1790. After that date, Fenno's *Gazette of the United States* was the chief source used by Gales and Seaton for the remainder of the second session. For example, the debates for March 9, 1790, are identical in both.[7] For the third session Gales and Seaton also consulted Brown's *Philadelphia Gazette*.[8]

After the appearance of the first two volumes of the *Annals of Congress*, covering only the debates of the First Congress, in 1834, its publication was abruptly stopped until 1849 because it was an undertaking so expensive that the editors would not finance it without governmental aid.[9] Since the publication of the *Annals of Congress*, more is known about the reporters and their work and new source material has been discovered.[10]

In his *History of the American People*, McMaster stated: "When Congress wanted a stenographer, it was compelled to employ an Englishman. He left, and an Irishman took his place."[11] The Englishman was Thomas Lloyd, who was born in London, August 14, 1756, and died in Philadelphia, January 19, 1827.[12] At the close of the American Revolution, in which he served as a soldier and an employee of the Continental Congress, he began his career as a stenographer.[13] In 1786 John Dunlap, publisher of the *Pennsylvania Packet*, employed Lloyd to report the proceedings of the Assembly of Pennsylvania.[14] Mathew Carey, who at the same time was reporting these debates for his own newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Evening Herald and American Monitor*, records in his "Autobiography" that he employed Lloyd to teach him stenography. In his opinion, Lloyd was "an excellent stenographer as far as taking down the notes," but "was a miserable hand at putting them in an English dress."[15]

Lloyd awaited the arrival of Congress in New York, March 4, 1789, hoping to be appointed official reporter of the House, but it was April 1 before Congress assembled, and April 6 before a quorum was present. Although no official reporter was employed, Lloyd was determined to report and publish the debates of the House as a private venture. Ac-

[6] *Loc. cit.*

[7] *Gazette of the United States* (New York), March 27, 1790.

[8] *Federal Gazette and Philadelphia Daily Advertiser, passim*, 1790-91.

[9] *National Intelligencer*, January 24, 1843, and December 25, 1848.

[10] Elizabeth G. McPherson, "The History of Reporting the Debates and Proceedings of Congress," chapter 11, Ph.D. Thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

[11] John Bach McMaster, *History of the American People* (1936), II, 333.

[12] For biographical sketches of Lloyd see Martin I. J. Griffin, "Thomas Lloyd, Reporter of the First House of Representatives of the United States," *The American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1888-1891), III, 221-252; and Charles Currier Beale, "Congressional Reporters and Reporting a Contribution to the History of Shorthand in America," *National Shorthand Reporters' Association: Proceedings* (New York, 1908), X, 35-37.

[13] Worthington C. Ford and others, eds., *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XV, 1239; Papers of the Continental Congress, no. 23, folio 45. Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress; Griffin, *op. cit.*, III, 221-224.

[14] Griffin, *op. cit.*, III, 221-227.

[15] "Autobiography of Mathew Carey," *New England Magazine of History* (Boston, 1833), V, 492.

cording to tradition, when Washington delivered his inaugural address, Lloyd stood on the balcony and his report of the address was published on May 2, 1789, in the *Gazette of the United States.*[16]

Apparently Lloyd was received cordially by the House. For example, visitors were not admitted to that body until April 8, the date of the first entry in his stenographic notebook, but his *Congressional Register* begins with April 1, 1789, thus indicating that he had access to the *Journals.*[17] On April 14, 1789, there appeared in the *New York Daily Gazette* this advertisement:

PROPOSALS

For publishing by Subscription,
The Congressional Register,
Or History of the Proceedings and Debates of the House of Representatives of the United States of America. Containing an impartial Account of the most interesting Speeches and Motions; and accurate Copies of remarkable Papers laid before and offered to the House.
Taken in short-hand by THOMAS LLOYD.

TERMS

FIRST THIS Work is intended to be published in Weekly numbers—each number to contain at least 48 Pages of Letter Press, of the same Form, Type and Size, as The Parliamentary Register, printed for J. Almon, in London.

SECOND, The Price to Subscribers will be Eighteen Pence, currency, per Number. . . .

THIRD, Subscribers are to advance Two Dollars on account when the first Number shall be delivered, and the balance at the Expiration of the first Session of Congress; and so on so long as they shall please to remain Subscribers. . . .

This notice appeared in seventeen subsequent issues of the *New York Daily Gazette,* including that of May 11, at which date it was announced that the first number of the *Congressional Register* had appeared on May 6, 1789. Three days later James Madison wrote Thomas Jefferson: "I send you herewith the first No. of the Congressional Register, which will give you some idea of the discussion in the new Legislature. You will see at once the strongest evidence of mutilation, and of illiteracy of the Editor."[18] If the issues proved worthy, he promised to send others.[19] From the advertisement and Madison's letter, it is to be noted that the *Congressional Register* appeared first as a weekly. Lloyd also records on the inside cover of his second volume of his stenographic notes taken in the House of Representatives that "V. R. Beatty wants 6 t & 8 of Vol. 3 Madison 8 of Vol—."[20] While Madison did not consider Lloyd's reports by any means accurate, he frequently cited the *Congressional Register* as a source, particularly for questions on commerce and tariff.[21]

Unfortunately, the *Congressional Register* is known to survive only in volume form under the title of the *Congressional Register or History of the Proceedings and Debates of the First House of Representatives of the United States of America* (1789-1790), in four volumes. The serial form ended with number III of volume IV.[22] A total of 35 issues appeared.[23] On November 4, 1820, Madison wrote Tench Coxe that upon looking over the printed papers "I perceive a chasm in the Debates of Congress between March 4, 1790, (being a close of No III of Vol. IV, by T. Lloyd) and the

[16] Griffin, *op. cit.*, III, 228.

[17] *Journals of the House of Representatives,* I, 1, *et seq.;* Thomas Lloyd, Congressional Register, I, 1; "Number 1st of the Debates of the House of Representatives of America taken by Thomas Lloyd commencing April 8th & ending May 15th Annoque Domini 1789." Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress. Hereafter this will be cited as Lloyd's stenographic notebook.

[18] James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, May 9, 1789. Madison MSS.

[19] *Loc. cit.*

[20] Lloyd's Stenographic Notebook. MSS.

[21] James Madison to Tenche Cox, November 4, 1820. Madison MSS.; *Writings of James Madison* (1865), III, 185; IV, 15.

[22] Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* (1912), VII, 370.

[23] *Loc. cit.*

removal of Congress from Philadelphia to Washington. May I ask a favor of you, if it can be done without difficulty, to procure for me the means of filling the chasm."[24]

The first volume of the *Congressional Register* covers the period from April 1 to June 16, 1789. The title page bears the imprint of Harrisson and Purdy printed for the editor. Another edition printed for T. Lloyd, the proprietor, by Hodge, Allen, and Campbell appeared also. A collation of the two imprints reveals that they are virtually identical. The other three volumes were also printed by Hodge, Allen, and Campbell. The second runs from June 22 to September 19, 1789, and contains an addendum: "The Acts Passed at the First Session of the Congress of the United States," reprinted from the official edition which Childs and Swaine had published. The third is dated January 4 to February 23, 1790 and the fourth from February 24 to March 8, 1790, with installment of acts.

Although Lloyd suspended the publication of his *Congressional Register,* his stenographic notebooks contain entries from January 19 to March 25 and from March 31 to June 3, 1790.[25] The abrupt discontinuance is perhaps to be explained by the lack of funds. The *Congressional Register* had to compete with daily, biweekly, and weekly newspapers, which had a wider circulation.[26] William Maclay recorded in his *Journal,* in June, 1789, for example, that "a very long debate took place about the newspapers. All the printers in the city [New York] crowded their papers into the hands of members."[27] On February 2, 1790, he sarcastically noted that Andrew Brown of Philadelphia "printer, to the Secretary of the Treasury . . . will publish nothing against him. This wretch is here looking for an office, and the public will certainly believe that Hamilton has bought him."[28] On April 8, 1790, he again referred to the fact that Brown would print nothing against Hamilton.[29]

Perhaps, the Irishman mentioned by McMaster as the successor to Lloyd was Brown.[30] After Congress moved to Philadelphia, in 1790, it was said that the country "was mainly indebted for reports of Congressional proceedings to the enterprise of Mr. Brown, the publisher of the *Philadelphia Gazette,* who employed a stenographer or two for that purpose, from whose columns the other papers mostly copied."[31] The more important speeches were frequently written out by the speakers.[32] In *Porcupine's Work,* William Cobbett ironically records that Brown's paper "for profit, was thought to be the first in the United States. He used to boast of clearing *Sixteen thousand dollars* a year."[33] There-

[24] *Writings of James Madison,* III, 185.

[25] The explanation for the stoppage of the *Congressional Register* is the discontinuance of the weekly issues. The second session did not adjourn until August 12, 1790. A decription of the weekly issues is found in Evans, *American Bibliography,* VII, 370.

[26] William Cobbett, *Porcupine's Works* (1801), VI, 418-421; XI, 242-243.

[27] Charles Beard, introduction, *Journal of William Maclay* (1927), p. 62.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 185.

[29] *Ibid.,* p. 229.

[30] Andrew Brown was born in North Ireland about 1744 and died in Philadelphia, February 4, 1787. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and came to America as an officer in the British Army, but soon resigned and settled in Massachusetts. Upon the outbreak of the American Revolution he joined the American forces, fought at Lexington and Bunker Hill. In 1777 he was appointed quartermaster general and served under Generals Greene and Gates. On August 25, 1783, he opened a school for girls in Philadelphia. Among his teachers was Dr. Rush. In 1788, after the discontinuance of the school, Brown began the publication of the *Federal Gazette,* which, in 1793, became the *Philadelphia Gazette.* He made a fortune on his paper. At his country seat he kept a chariot and a span of horses. In 1796 he even proposed to report and publish the debates of the House for $4,000 per annum. Unfortunately, his office was burned and also his wife and child. He was so badly burned that he died two days later, survived by an only son by a former marriage, living in Ireland, whom he had disowned. Cobbett, *op. cit.,* VI, 418-421, XI, 242-243 footnotes; Richard Hildreth, *History of the United States of America* (1863), V, 410-411; J. Thomas Scharf and Thomas Wescott, *History of Philadelphia* (1885), III, 1977; "Notes and Queries." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History* (Philadelphia, 1916), XL, 378; Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American History,* I, 394; McMaster, *op. cit.* II, 333.

[31] Hildreth, *op. cit.,* V, 410-411.

[32] *Loc. cit.; Annals of Congress,* First Conogress, 1st sess., pp. 919-920.

[33] Cobbett, *op. cit.,* XI, 242-243.

fore, it is not surprising that Lloyd was forced to discontinue the publication of the *Congressional Register.*

Other contributory factors were the attitude of members with respect to the inaccuracies found in the reports, perhaps, due to the physical conditions under which the reporters work and also the political leanings of the editors of the newspapers.[34] Obviously, the peculiar diction of members and the distance from the reporters added to difficulty of their hearing what was said on the floor. While there is evidence of dissatisfaction over the reports of the debates, which appeared in the newspapers and in the *Congressional Register,* no overt action was taken in the House until September 21, 1789, when Aedanu Burke, of South Carolina, introduced the following resolution:

Resolved. That the several persons who have published the debates of this House, in the Congressional Register, and in the newspapers of this city, have misrepresented these debates in the most glaring deviations from truth; often distorting the arguments of the members from the true meaning; imputing to some gentlemen arguments contradictory and foreign to the subject, and which were never advanced; to others, remarks and observations never made; and, in a great many instances, mutilating, and, not unfrequently, suppressing whole arguments upon subjects of the greatest moment; thus throwing over the whole proceeding a thick veil of misrepresentation and error; which being done within the House, at the very foot of the Speaker's chair, gives a sanction and authenticity to those publications, that reflect upon the House as ridicule and absurdity highly injurious to its privileges and dignity.

Resolved. That to misrepresent the debates of the House, whether it arises from incapacity, inattention, or partiality, has a mischievous tendency to infringe the freedom of debate, and this House should no longer give sanction to it.[35]

On September 26, an acrimonious debate occurred over the resolution. Perhaps, it was during the introductory remarks that the reporters fled to the galleries.[36] For example, Burke is recorded as having supported his resolution by a "few references to misconceptions and blunders which had been printed."[37] The reporters without further explanation, stated that they did not have "an opportunity of taking down" the remarks of "Mr. Bland and Mr. White."[38]

The remainder of the debate is recorded more fully. Michael Stone, of Maryland, the next debater, admitted that inaccuracies had appeared in the reports which he attributed to physical conditions. While he lamented that the newspapers had put sentiments into his mouth, "which his heart never felt, nor his head comprehended," he was unwilling to suppress the publication of the debates."[39] In his opinion the *Congressional Register* "was free from misrepresentations, other than sometimes changing the mode of expression or emphasis of language."[40] Therefore, he opposed the adoption of the resolution.

Stone was followed by Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, who also regretted that various publications had a tendency to exalt some members and to depress others.[41] To him it was curious that "all the arguments on one side were fully stated, and generally took up some columns in the newspapers; while the arguments on the other side were partially stated, and condensed to a few solitary lines."[42] He also opposed the resolution because he favored the dissemination of useful information by a "correct and impartial publication of the speeches."[43]

When Gerry sat down, John Page, of Virginia, moved to let the resolution lie

[34] *Annals of Congress,* First Cong., 1st sess., pp. 917-920; 2nd sess., pp. 1059-1060; *History of George Washington Bicentennial,* III (1932), 199; James Madison, to Gales and Seaton, August 5, 1833. Madison MSS.
[35] *Annals of Congress,* First Cong., 1st sess., 917.
[36] *Ibid.,* 917; Hildreth, *op. cit.,* V, 410.
[37] *Annals of Congress,* First Cong., 1st sess., 917.
[38] *Ibid.,* 917.
[39] *Ibid.,* 917-918.
[40] *Ibid.,* 918.
[41] *Ibid.,* 918.
[42] *Ibid.,* 918
[43] *Ibid.,* 918.

on the table. Since the House had admitted the reporters by tacit consent, he would not approve "a violent removal."[44] After expressing a hope that the severity of the resolution might have the desired effect of producing accurate and impartial "sketches of the debates in the future," he added that he "would rather submit to all the inconveniences of ridicule than sacrifice what he thought a valuable publication of useful and interesting information to his constituents."[45]

Page was followed by Burke, who withdrew his resolution and tried to allay the furor it had caused in that body.[46] Others expressed themselves in favor of the House authorizing the publication of the debates in an impartial manner by men who were qualified to do the work.[47] Such remarks elicited from Thomas Tucker, of Delaware, a motion to the effect that "every person who was permitted to take down the debates ought to do it, to the best of his ability, in an accurate and impartial manner."[48]

The most important comment on the resolution was made by James Madison, who, perhaps, expressed the prevailing sentiments of the House. He considered it improper to throw impediments in the way of publishing such information as the House had hitherto permitted from the purest motives; but he believed it equally improper to give the publication of their debates legislative sanction, because in instances in which they were misunderstood it would make the House responsible for remarks never made.[49] Madison admitted that he had been inaccurately quoted; so had other men, but he had no reason to believe that it had been done with the intention of "casting a veil over his declarations, or to pervert them." Such errors gave him no concern since he was not responsible for their publication. Should official sanction be given to them, it would be necessary for members to revise their speeches. As for himself he did not wish to "encounter" the inconvenience, therefore, he "concluded it best to leave it on its present footing."[50]

The debate was concluded by Tucker's withdrawing his motion and also expressing a "hope that the printers would be more cautious in the future in their publications."[51] Thus ended the first debate on the question of reporting.

After the reporters retreated to the galleries, the House retaliated by refusing them admission to the floor during the last two days of the first session of Congress.[52] When Congress met in its second session, January 4, 1790, the reporters reappeared in the galleries.[53] A glance at the reports of the debates between the opening date of Congress and January 18, when they were returned to the floor, indicated that the debates were not as fully reported as during the previous session.

Nevertheless, no overtures were made to the reporters until January 15, 1790, when, after a motion to adjourn was made, John Page, of Virginia, secured the floor and inquired whether "the persons who had taken down and published the debates of the House, by the tacit consent . . . during the last session . . . might not return to the same seats."[54] In the rôle of a diplomat he added that the reporters had modestly withdrawn on the supposition that their presence was not desired, but "the contrary was the case that he knew their publications had given great satisfaction to many constituents of

[44] *Ibid.*, 918-919.
[45] *Ibid.*, 919.
[46] *Ibid.*, 919.
[47] *Ibid.*, 919.
[48] *Ibid.*, 919.
[49] *Ibid.*, 920.
[50] *Ibid.*, 920.
[51] *Ibid.*, 920.
[52] *Ibid.*, 2nd sess., p. 1059; Samuel Huson Gray, "Historical Sketches of Parliamentary Reporting in England and the United States," *Shorthand Writer* (March, 1922), XVIII, 82.
[53] *Annals of Congress*, 1st Cong., 2nd sess., p. 1059; Hildreth, *op. cit.*, V, 410.
[54] *Annals of Congress*, 1st Cong., 2nd sess., 1059.

the House," which had been applauded abroad and at home.[55] He proposed that the reporters should return without a motion to that effect "lest that might sanction and authenticate erroneous publications."[56]

Apparently, Page expressed the prevailing sentiment of that body when he extended a cordial invitation to the reporters to return to their former seats at the foot of the Speaker's chair. Even the motion to adjourn was withdrawn in order to permit a full discussion of the question.

Immediately, Alexander White, of Virginia, disclaimed any intention on the part of the House to discourage the reporters.[57] Although they had not given an exact and accurate account of "all that passed in Congress, yet their information had been pretty full, and he believed errors not many"; and certainly not by "design," he added.

Elias Boudinot, of Pennsylvania, proposed to give the Speaker of the House "discretionary power" to admit the shorthand-writers.[58] Thereupon, Page remarked that in the preceding session he hand maintained that "Mr. Fenno" should be "within the house as Mr. Lloyd instead of being in the gallery."[59] So long as it did not interfere with the convenience of members of the House, he saw no reason for limiting the number of reporters admitted to the floor.

In defense of the reporters William Smith, of South Carolina, argued that those who came first should have a "preemptory right to the best. . . . I am sorry for the loss of them off the floor, because I think their publications had a salutary tendency."[60] He attributed the inaccuracies to the hurry in which the business of the House was conducted and concluded by saying that the publications had given their "constituents great satisfaction, and I should be glad to see that our Argus [Thomas Lloyd] restored to his former situation behind the Speaker's Chair, from whence he could both see and hear distinctly every thing that passed in the House."[61]

Until the recent discovery of two volumes of shorthand notes taken in the House of Representatives during the first session of Congress by Thomas Lloyd, it was difficult to do more than make a general *caveat*. While Lloyd's *Congressional Register* was known to contain fuller accounts of the debates than the newspapers, members of Congress repeatedly stated that the debates were inaccurately reported in it. Like the editors of newspapers, his reports were also colored according to political leanings.

The discovery of Lloyd's shorthand notebooks, which are perhaps the oldest records of the House extant, throws new light on the debates of the House during the first two sessions of the First Congress. His shorthand notes were written in a clumsy and highly comprehensive system of that period and vary in date and content from his *Congressional Register*. The first volume of Lloyd's shorthand notes contains the debates of the House from April 8 to May 15, 1789; and the second from January 19 to March 25, and from March 31 to June 3, 1790, inclusively, while the *Congressional Register*, in four volumes, includes the debates of the first session, April 1 to September 29, 1789; and that of the second session from January 4 to March 8, 1790.[62]

According to Lloyd's advertisement of the *Congressional Register* previously

[55] *Ibid.*, 1059.
[56] *Annals of Congress*, 1st Cong., 2nd sess., 1059.
[57] *Ibid.*, 1060.
[58] *Ibid.*, 1060.
[59] *Ibid.*, 1061.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 1061. William Smith's speech is one of the few, if not the only one, that is recorded in the first person in the *Annals of Congress*. Whether Smith wrote out his remarks in the first person or his staunch support of Lloyd induced him to report the speech in the first person is unknown. So long as Smith remained a member of Congress he was a warm friend of the reporters.
[61] *Annals of Congress*, First Cong., 2nd sess., p. 1061.
[62] The first volume of Lloyd's shorthand notebook contains 86 pages of finely written notes to the end of the last page. Obviously, his notes for the period from May 15 to September 29, the date of the adjournment

quoted, he did not propose to print a full account of all the proceedings of the House, but merely to give an "impartial account" of only the "most interesting Speeches and Motions" and "accurate" copies of "remarkable Papers." Consequently, the *Congressional Register* never purported to be a verbatim record of what occurred in the House or what he wrote in his notebooks.

In his shorthand notes Lloyd wrote the names of persons and places but often in abridged form and as he later explained "as will be sufficient to bring them to your recollection."[63] There are discrepancies between his shorthand reports and his *Congressional Register*. For April 8, 1789, the first day that visitors were admitted to the House, the two sources are virtually identical. Three days later, there is a noticeable difference. Even the order in which members participated in the debates is not identical. Nor is that all. Remarks of members found in the *Congressional Register* do not always appear in his notes and vice versa. A comparison of the two sources, from day to day, shows variations.

While a complete collation is impossible until his shorthand notes are transcribed, they promise to yield much that is new. To transcribe his notes will be difficult because he invented his own caricatures in taking down notes. In his *Stenography*, Lloyd boasts that those who used his system of stenography would "in a short time . . . be able to express words of five and six syllables by one or two strokes of the pen, not perhaps amounting to as much in writing as is contained in an ordinary *a* or *b*."[64] An explanation of his diminutive writing is made by one of his pupils.

> . . . For my own part, I find, on examining my short-hand notes of the Debates of the last session of Congress, that my writing, in general, averages five lines to every inch of paper: and, if I had not ceased to practice the art, and been totally unconnected with the proceedings of Congress during the present session, I suppose, that, by this time, I might, as Mr. Lloyd does, write much closer.[65]

Moreover, the curious mixture of caricatures and spelled words enables even an amateur, familiar with parliamentary procedure, to discern discrepancies between his shorthand notes and his printed volumes. Nevertheless, it is unknown what interesting facts and important data may be made available to the historian when Lloyd's shorthand notes are transcribed.

of the first session of Congress and from January 4, the opening date of the second session to January 19, 1779, the date of the first entry in the second volume, in the Division of Manuscripts, has been lost or is still in the hands of an individual. The second volume contains 184 pages. Except for a few longhand notations and a few scrawls on two or three pages, both volumes are filled with finely written shorthand notes.

[63] *Lloyd's Stenography Publicly Practised by him for Nearly Half a Century, With his Latest Improvements* (1819), pp. 23-24. For a brief description of the shorthand system used by Lloyd, the best contribution is perhaps that by Arthur Head, "Thomas Lloyd and his Shorthand System," *Pennsylvania Shorthand Reporters' Association: Proceedings* (Philadelphia, 1903), IV, 28-48.

[64] *Lloyd's Stenography*, p. 30.

[65] J[ ] C[ ], *The System of Shorthand Practised by Mr. Thomas Lloyd, in taking down the Debates of Congress; and now (with his permission) published* (1793), p. 11. Even by his contemporaries, Lloyd was recognized as the most eminent shorthand writer in America. As to who "J. C." was, Head, *op. cit., passim*, makes several suggestions. Since Mathew Carey studied under Lloyd, whom he considered an efficient note taker, it is quite probable that his brother James Carey, who was engaged in the newspaper business with Mathew Carey, was "J. C."

JIM DANDY, PIONEER

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WHEN William Saroyan, eccentric genius of the American theatre, responded to the invitation of the National Theatre Conference, and in a few short weeks dashed off a play for noncommercial theatre production, he did

something so remarkable that its full significance in theatre history has not yet been realized.

Whether *Jim Dandy* is in itself a great play, or Saroyan a great dramatist, is unimportant and beside the point. Personally, I like the play tremendously, and have never worked with one that gave me more inner satisfaction; it is the only play I have ever enjoyed deeply enough to produce twice in one year. But the important thing about it is that it opens up an entirely new range of possibilities in the theatre. If our dramatists have not yet realized those possibilities, that—to borrow Saroyan's own words from the introduction to *Jim Dandy*—"is only because the eye is so blind."

Two causes have combined to obscure the importance of this play as a signpost for the future. One is that it was not the author's first play, and on the surface seemed merely to be a more extreme exploitation of the personal eccentricities for which he was already famous. The other is that Broadway's jealous suspicion of little theatre drama has kept *Jim Dandy* from professional production and discouraged publication; and the critics have brushed it aside, many of them without reading or seeing it. The script has been seen by relatively few people—most of them members of NATS—and it is of such a nature that a person reading it for the first time is inclined to say, "This is incoherent, childish prattle. This man is either crazy, or he is trying to pull my leg!"

The significant thing about *Jim Dandy* is not Saroyan or the Saroyan manner, though the Saroyan manner is quite in keeping with the intent of the play, and has much to do with its charm.

The Saroyan manner includes a California background, centering in the saloons, lunch wagons, lodging houses, and public libraries of San Francisco; an intense interest in the lowly types of humanity, the hoboes, prostitutes, itinerant workers, the poor and unfortunate, the inefficient and the confused; a deep compassion for human suffering; an almost total absence of the reformatory zeal that often accompanies such compassion; a perverse determination to see the good side of human nature—which the New York critics call his "Pollyanna" complex, and which enrages them as you would expect; a cheerful refusal to be conventional, or even logical, in the matter of plot construction; a delight in the devastating questions and remarks that come from the mouths of babes and sucklings—especially small boys; a liking for certain pet symbols, such as rain, snow, cows, flowers, shoes, bells and pianolas; and a tendency to explore the possibilities of abstraction and symbolism in terms of surface realism.

II

All of these characteristics had appeared in his plays and stories before *Jim Dandy*, but only the last one had foreshadowed the revolutionary experiment in dramaturgy which makes *Jim Dandy* the significant play it is.

Jim Dandy is the first outright wholehearted attempt to bring into the modern drama the elements of pure composition and abstract symbolism long familiar in the field of music, and more recently established—though not without controversy—in the fields of painting and sculpture. There have, of course, been sporadic revolts against peep-hole realism, and experiments in nonrealistic theatre. Usually they have concerned themselves more with the manner of production than with the playwriting; they have sought to recapture the pageantry and poetic formality of the Greek drama, or to enhance the beauty of fanciful or heroic plays by means of decorative or symbolic settings, colorful costumes, and the emotional powers of stage lighting.

They have sought to lessen the inescapable realism of living actors on a stage by exaggerations in costume, make-up, or movement, rather than abstraction in the composition of the play itself.

In *Jim Dandy*, Saroyan has started at the other end, making no attempt to deny the homely realism of his characters, at least in externals, but completely denying the logic of time, place and consistency in the dialogue and action, and constructing his play in terms of pure form, on the lines of a classic symphony. The result is a new art form, totally incomprehensible to the prosy mind which insists on rationalizing everything, but tremendously exciting to those who know and love their classic music and their mystic poetry, and are accustomed to having their imaginations stirred by abstract symbols.

The scene of the play is "what the author chooses to call the reading room of the public library in San Francisco, but is in reality no such place." Actually, of course, it is the stage of life; the arena of the human mind and heart.

The characters include Flora, the librarian, a gentle creature "from away back" who rather fancies herself as a Cleopatra and reclines on a glamorous cozy-corner couch when not handing out books or punching the noisy cash-register; Johnny, "with one foot in the grave" (symbolized by a casket worn on his foot), who is clearly in love with Flora; Fishkin, an elderly, broken-down pessimist, who reads James Joyce and dreams of the greatness he might have had; Jock, a volatile, dancing optimist, who keeps rushing in and demanding another book, always hoping it will be better than the last; Molly, a haggard old woman in rags, who moves endlessly around in a revolving door that goes nowhere, and who, on the coming of Jim Dandy, suddenly sheds her rags and blossoms out as a lithe and graceful young dancer; a confused postman, who brings the mail; Jim Dandy "hisself," who looks like a hobo with manners, and who struts on the scene at the end of the first episode, attended by Jim Crow, a faithful colored servant in fantastic regimentals; and finally (in the later scenes only), Little Johnny, a small boy, son of Johnny and Flora, who also wears a tiny casket on his foot.

With these characters, plus properties, music, stage business, and (more or less at the discretion of the producer) visual design, light and color, Saroyan attempts to do what a composer does with melody, harmony and rhythm; or what a non-realistic painter does with geometric line, mass and color, or with unrelated bits of realism assembled in illogical but artistic form; or what a poet does when he substitutes the intuitive truths of an irrational dream for the cold logic of science. That is, he tries to reflect the experiences of life, not as a photographer or historian sees them, but as a more or less abstract sequence of moods, memories and emotions, composed into a beautiful entity.

III

The form of *Jim Dandy* is uncannily like that of a symphony—Beethoven, rather than Schoenberg, Harris, or Shostakovich. It is divided into two acts of two scenes each—really four episodes, corresponding to the four movements of a symphony. The first is mainly concerned with establishing an atmosphere, and giving out themes for the various characters, such as Fishkin's "It wouldn't help!" Flora's "Mustn't laugh in the public library!" and Johnny's "one foot in the grave"; it ends with a vigorous climax, tempered with suspense, on the entrance of Jim Dandy. The second scene, as in most classic symphonies, is the slowest and quietest, centering on the curiously repressed and ethereal love scene between Johnny and Flora—which one little thea-

tre producer has daringly called "the most beautiful love scene ever written." The third scene is the liveliest, most varied, and most complex, rising to a climax which forecasts the finale and feeds right into it (as in Beethoven's Fifth); and the finale is the most majestic, centering about the pathetically heroic play-acting of Fishkin, reaching unexpected heights of poetic imagination, and ending with dignity and cheerful resignation as the bells ring out their summons to "Come home!"

The story of the play is not that of a particular man or woman. It is the story of Man, as he gropes his way through the mystery of life. The thread of the action is not particularly obscure, once you become familiar with it; but as in a fine piece of music or poetry it is not to be fully grasped on one hearing. The author rigidly refrains from being obvious; he substitutes the poet's method of suggestion or implication for the usual direct statement. Lovers of poetry have long since accepted this principle, as lovers of music have accepted that of abstract symbolism. Theatre-goers, accustomed to realism and rationality, find such indirection somewhat incomprehensible, and a good deal of a shock. But there is no reason why we cannot adjust ourselves to it.

IV

It would be foolish, of course, to suppose that Saroyan arrived at all this in one jump, and without influence from others. He had his predecessors.

Pirandello, for example, in his *Six Characters in Search of an Author,* played with the idea of the unreality in real life and the reality of imagination. But he did not make his whole play abstract. Rather he denied just one element of reality, and kept all the rest, thus giving the play something of the feeling of a ghost story, though of course with a deeply philosophical purpose. Barrie played with the unrealities of time and death in *Mary Rose.* Shaw mixed realism with the miraculous in *St. Joan,* and became highly symbolic in *Back to Methuselah.* O'Neill experimented with masks in *The Great God Brown,* and with double personality and dialogue in *Strange Interlude;* even Ibsen suggested a kind of poetic mysticism in *The Wild Duck.* But the only kind of theatre that has come at all close to *Jim Dandy* in structural formality is that of the ballet. Saroyan really brings the compositional design of ballet into the realm of spoken drama, and in so doing goes much farther than any of his predecessors.

In one respect, he also borrows from the abstractionists in painting and sculpture, especially the surrealists, who make their abstract compositions out of detached, but more or less realistic bits of life. Abstraction in art and music, unfortunately, has been greatly retarded by its tendency to attract incompetents and charlatans, who find in its novelty and freedom a convenient cloak for bad craftsmanship and lack of purpose. Radicalism of any kind appeals, also, to a disproportionate number of inferior or diseased minds. Surrealism, especially, has suffered from nasty-minded, sadistic devotees, fond of dismembered human bodies and all sorts of climy, ugly, abnormal things, and obsessed with Freudian psychology. Saroyan, though rough and outspoken, is surprisingly clean-minded and free of such sadism. For that reason he has succeeded in applying the surrealist method with more sympathy and compassion, more dignity and beauty, than any surrealist painter known to me.

V

I cannot say to what extent Saroyan has thought through the implications of his experiment, and I do not intend to

enter into controversy with those who think him too much of a showman or too much of an egoist. That I happen to think *Jim Dandy* a very satisfying play is neither here nor there.

What matters is that *Jim Dandy* is a pioneer effort in a field that seems to promise enormous potentialities for the future. I see no reason why other dramatists, with different styles and personalities, and different things to say, should not carry on the experiment, and give us other symphonic dramas. The conception of form based on compositional beauty rather than narrative logic appeals to me strongly, as does that of thought and feeling conveyed by implication rather than crude statement. I do not suggest that we should abandon other forms of drama, but I do feel that Saroyan has shown us a range of opportunity in the theatre that we have been missing—one that combines the promise of novelty with all that is most classically respectable and aesthetically sound in art. If he is wrong, so was Beethoven.

There are signs that others may be groping in the same direction. Thornton Wilder, for example, has written something slightly suggestive of *Jim Dandy* in *The Skin of Our Teeth*. But he (or his producer) has made more concessions to box office appeal, and Wilder has nothing like Saroyan's unified sense of composition. The field is still wide open to the young dramatist with imagination, a sense of beauty, and something to say, and any such who has not seen or read *Jim Dandy* would do well to study it carefully. Those who teach playwriting, and those who direct plays, should do likewise.

GORDON CRAIG AND POST-IMPRESSIONISM

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IN COUPLING Gordon Craig, the theatre artist, with the Post-Impressionist movement in painting, I have no intention of raising again the notion that Craig was by nature a painter, who, despite the unsuitability of his talents, unfortunately chose to draw stage designs and obstinately demanded a theatre in which to house them. That error, I hope, is long since dead. In fact, as far as any direct influence on his stage designs is concerned, Craig seems to have been oblivious to Post-Impressionist painting. A distinguished wood-block designer himself, he was familiar enough with the painting of all periods. He acknowledged a debt to such very different painters as Leonardo Da Vinci, Rembrandt, Giotto, Fra Angelico, Raphael, Whistler, Nicholson, Beardsley, and Beerbohm.[1] And he advised his apprentice stage-manager to study Giotto, Masolino, Michelangelo, Rembrandt, Fra Angelico, Hals, Teniers, and Hogarth,[2] but nowhere does he so much as mention Cézanne or Seurat, or any other painter of the Post-Impressionist movement.

It is in a larger and much more fundamental sense that Gordon Craig reveals a kinship with Post-Impressionism. And this kinship appears not in any discoverable resemblance between his scene designs and the paintings of Post-Impressionism, but rather in his fundamental aesthetic: in his conception of the nature

[1] Edward Gordon Craig, *Towards A New Theatre* (London, 1913), p. xi.
[2] Edward Gordon Craig, *The Theatre—Advancing* (Boston, 1919), pp. 201-208.

of art and of the function of the artist.

Clive Bell and Roger Fry are generally considered to have been the chief spokesmen of Post-Impressionism, and they considered Cézanne and Seurat its greatest exponents. According to Bell, the artist's sole commandment is: "Thou shalt create form."[3]

More concretely he declared:

> . . . gazing at a familiar landscape, Cézanne came to understand it . . . as an end in itself. Every great artist has seen landscape as an end in itself—as pure form that is to say;[4]

Roger Fry said of Seurat: "He had a passion for reducing the results of sensation to abstract statements."[5] No one is likely to dispute the fact that Cézanne's aim was to reduce landscape to a harmonic sequence of planes, nor that Seurat in his quite different looking paintings was concerned primarily with formal relationships.

II

Design or *form* is the leitmotif of Craig's turbulent writings on theatrical art. He repeats again and again a passionate plea for unity, composition, design, rhythm, harmony, and balance in the theatre. This formal character manifested itself in Craig's theatre work very early. Arthur Symons wrote of Craig's production of *The Masque of Love* (1901):

> Mr. Craig, it is certain, has a genius for line, for novel effects of line. His line is entirely his own; he works in squares and straight lines, hardly ever in curves. . . . Even when . . . the pattern forms into a circle, the circle is segmented with straight lines.[6]

Craig sent his apprentice stage-manager for inspiration to music and to architecture, the arts of pure form.[7] He wrote: "Masses must be treated as masses, as Rembrandt treats a mass, as Bach and Beethoven treat a mass, and detail has nothing to do with the mass."[8] The greatest praise Craig could give an actor was to say that his acting had design. Irving's walk, he said, was nearer dance than walk, his speech nearer song.[9]

The spokesmen of Post-Impressionism have not been content to say that the truth which painting reveals is an object's possibility of formal organization. Clive Bell attached to the "form" which the painter must create the word "significant," and his attempt to define this "significance" led him to three somewhat distinct hypotheses. The first of these supposes that the "significance" is "the thing in itself," the object's "ultimate" reality, unclouded by the veil of "practical" reality.[10] He suggested also that the painter through his formal organization of the visible world depicts generic truth. The painter represents not the particular cow, but, as Bell put it in one of his lighter moments, "the cowiness of cows."[11] Finally, he suggested that the "significance" of painting lies in its depiction of the "all-pervading rhythm"—the underlying order of life.[12]

III

In the theatre, Craig dealt with form in movement, and so he was concerned with the "significance" of movement. Nevertheless, he shared Bell's three conjectures about the nature of that significance. Sometimes he thought of it as essential or ultimate reality: "Is it not poor art and poor cleverness which cannot convey the spirit and essence of an idea to an audience . . . ?"[13] Again he

[3] Clive Bell, *Art* (London, 1924), p. 44.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[5] Roger Fry, *Transformations; critical and speculative essays on art* (London, 1926), p. 188.
[6] Arthur Symons, *Studies in Seven Arts* (1906), pp. 349-350.
[7] Edward Gordon Craig, *On the Art of the Theatre* (Boston, 1925 ed.), p. 5.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[9] Edward Gordon Craig, *Henry Irving* (1930), p. 71.
[10] *Art*, p. 54.
[11] Clive Bell, *Since Cézanne* (London, 1923), p. 203.
[12] *Art*, p. 54 ff.
[13] *On the Art of the Theatre*, p. 63.

thought of it as generic truth: ". . . the greater artist is he who creates the impression of the whole genus of donkey, the spirit of the thing."[14] And sometimes he was close to Bell's "all-prevading rhythm": "The Art of the Theatre is after all to reveal, to show by means of movement, a glimpse or a vision of all things."[15]

The critical exponents of Post-Impressionism are agreed that the movement was born of a new understanding of the old and immutable laws of painting. Roger Fry wrote: "The modern movement [Post-Impressionism] was essentially a return to the ideals of formal design which had been lost sight of in the fervid pursuit of representation."[16] Clive Bell also saw Post-Impressionism as a return to first principles, and quoted Renoir, who remarked, "Avec la nature on ne fait rien," and when he was asked where then one should go to learn to paint, replied, "Au musée, parbleu!"[17]

IV

Craig saw his own program for the theatre not as revolution but as reform—a return to the old and immutable laws of the theatre. He turned constantly to the great theatres of the past, to the Greek theatre, the Roman theatre, the Medieval theatre, not in order to imitate them, but in order to learn from them the eternal principles of theatre art.[18] He objected to the application of the word "new" to his art of the theatre, and called his work "the eternal old and good movement coming once more to life."[19]

In its pursuit of "significant form," Post-Impressionism declared war on representation and on technical dexterity in painting. "Detail is the heart of realism and the fatty degeneration of art," wrote Clive Bell.[20] Roger Fry attacked Impressionism because its preoccupation with atmospheric effects tended to destroy not only "any clear and logical articulation of volumes" but also the surface organization of the painting.[21] According to the Post-Impressionist creed set forth by Bell, the painter fundamentally is neither photographer, psychologist, archeologist, litterateur, nor acrobat.[22]

It is hardly necessary to point out that Craig was opposed to realism, but it is worth emphasizing the fact that he was opposed to realism in the theatre, for the same reason the Post-Impressionists were opposed to realism in painting. He believed that it was an obstacle to the creation of formal relationships. According to Craig, representation by its very nature is anarchical: it includes quantities of unorganized detail for the sake of verisimilitude.[23] Craig made fun of the craze for the "natural" which characterized the professional theatre of his day:

> Not only does the manager demand a forest and is supplied with one, but he says to the actors: "Why don't you walk about and talk like ordinary beings? Be natural! Be natural!" And he will applaud any little mistake like tripping over the carpet or falling off a chair, if it is an accident, and will say: "Oh! capital! capital! that's most natural! Put that in every evening."[24]

V

Craig's aesthetic affinity with Post-Impressionism is of some general interest as another example of the essential kinship between two quite different arts; but it has a more specific significance. It provides the key to Craig's paradoxical writings on the art of the theatre. Once one accepts the fact that his fundamental

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 62.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.
[16] Roger Fry, *Vision and Design* (London, 1920), p. 192.
[17] Clive Bell, *Since Cézanne* (London, 1923), p. 67.
[18] See particularly his *Scene* (Oxford, 1923).
[19] *Henry Irving*, p. 186.
[20] *Art*, p. 222.
[21] *Transformations*, p. 218.
[22] *Art*, pp. 44-48.
[23] *Towards A New Theatre*, p. 89.
[24] *On the Art of the Theatre*, p. 107.

purpose was to create formal relationships in the theatre, his theories lose their effect of confused paradox and haphazard self-contradiction. Given that key, it is possible to see under the exuberant exterior of Craig's literary style a core of theory which is surprisingly, even severely, logical.

Craig found the theatre a collaborative enterprise, incapable of translating an artist's vision undiluted into formal theatrical expression. He, therefore, posited a single "artist of the theatre," the stage-manager, who should be versed in all aspects of production.[25] This notion was not new, but it led to the first of Craig's radical proposals. There was room in the theatre for only one artist; more than one would make unity unachievable. The stage-manager eventually would write his own plays. The playwright would be banished from the theatre.[26]

Craig's second radical proposal sprang as inevitably from the same fundamental conception of the nature of art. The artist can create form only if he can control his materials. Most of the materials of the theatre—light, scenery, costume are inanimate and possible of control, if the artist will take the trouble to master them. But the theatre's most important material is the actor, and the actor is not only animate, he is a human being with a will of his own, often claiming the name of "artist" in his own right. With inexorable logic Craig declared: "The actor must go, and in his place comes the inanimate figure—the Uber-Marionette we may call him, until he has won for himself a better name."[27] Later explanation made it clear that Craig wanted the actor to learn to control his own body and to submit his own artistic will to the will of the artist stage-manager: "The Uber-marionette is the actor plus fire, minus egoism: the fire of the gods and demons, without the smoke and steam of mortality."[28]

Craig's wish to revive the mask sprang from the same desire to bring the materials of production under the control of the artist stage-manager:

> Human facial expression is for the most part worthless. . . . Masks carry conviction when he who creates them is an artist, for the artist limits the statements which he places upon these masks. The face of the actor carries no such conviction; it is overfull of fleeting expression—frail, restless, disturbed, and disturbing.[29]

VI

It was not only the collaborative character of the theatre, which in Craig's opinion, made it unsuitable for artistic expression. He found the materials of the theatre, even supposing they could all be controlled, a confused medley in which no common denominator of expression was apparent. The actor is animate and three-dimensional, capable of expression in form, color, movement, and voice. The scenery is inanimate, permitting expression in form and color. Light permits expression in color and in movement. Craig seized upon movement as the dramatic common denominator and strove to make it the mode of expression for theatre art. The aim of the theatre, he decided, should be to express in movement "a vision of all things."

The actor, and through the actor his costume and accessories, are by nature expressive in movement. Without much difficulty, light can be made completely mobile through graduated changes in its color, direction, and intensity. But what about the scenery? How can the ordinarily inanimate scenery, especially

[25] *On the Art of the Theatre*, p. 99.
[26] *On the Art of the Theatre*, pp. 121-122, 144, 148.
[27] *On the Art of the Theatre*, p. 81.
[28] The essay on the Actor and the Uber-marionette appeared first in an early edition of *On the Art of the Theatre*. The "fuller explanation" appeared in the Preface to the 1925 edition.
[29] *The Theatre—Advancing*, p. 105.

the architectural scenery which Craig preferred, be drawn along with light and the actor into the dance of theatrical expression?

Craig declared: "The scene must act."[30] Sometimes he was satisfied to think of the scenery as acting in the sense that the essence of action lies in certain inanimate pieces of scenery, such as a doorway or a flight of steps, which imply physical action on the part of the actors. Hence the prevalence of such activating units in Craig's stage designs. He realized too that the scenery may be made to move in effect, that its appearance may be changed in the course of the drama's action, by changing the play of light upon it.[31] But this apparent movement of the scenery did not satisfy Craig's desire to achieve complete unity of formal expression in the theatre. He tried to make the setting completely flexible, so that its form could be changed gradually in the course of the play in harmony with the movement of the actors and the light.[32] This led to the experiment of his production of *Hamlet* at the Moscow Art Theatre, when the scenery fell down, according to Stanislavski, or did not fall down, according to Craig. Whatever one may think of the practicability of Craig's demand that the scenery be mobile, given his premise that movement is the mode of the theatre expression, the logic of his demand is undeniable.

VII

It is doubtful if any of Craig's ideas for the theatre, no matter how bizarre, will appear any less logical, once they are related to his conception of the nature of art in general and of the art of the theatre in particular. His scheme of "rearrangements": two theatres, one natural in every respect, the other a theatre of conventions, is the result of Craig's desire for unity of materials.[33] The theatre of conventions, obviously the one he prefers, in which he would substitute the mask for the actor's face, conventionalized movement for natural movement, and conventionalized delivery for natural delivery, is based firmly on his conviction of the necessity for design in theatre art.

Even Craig's wish to banish women from the stage, a wish that seems especially inexplicable in view of his admiration for Duse, is understandable when one realizes that for Craig women brought an irrelevance, their personal charm, into the theatre, and thus distracted from the aim of the theatre as art.[34] In this instance Craig mistook for a law of theatrical art a personal idiosyncracy, though one that is doubtless shared by a good many men, for it must be clear to most observers that sex in the theatre is not the exclusive quality of the female. Craig's error here is not important. It only serves to emphasize the fact that he wished to remove from the theatre anything and everything which appeared to stand in the way of its becoming a medium for the expression of his rigorously classical conception of art.

The term *classical* is used advisedly, in the fundamental sense of the glorification of form. It is clear, now that the pendulum has swung back somewhat from the peak of formalism in painting, that Post-Impressionism was a classical movement. And viewed in the same light, Craig's theatre was essentially a classical theatre.

Thus the swashbuckling poseur in the romantic cloak and hat, the spoiled child of Ellen Terry, unable to settle down to the practical realities of theatrical pro-

[30] *Scene*, p. 20.
[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-27.
[32] *Scene*, p. 20.
[33] *The Theatre—Advancing*, pp. 171-178.
[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 237-238.

duction, the ebullient, paradoxical essayist, careless of syntax and carefree with exclamation marks, when his aesthetic kinship with Post-Impressionism is understood, turns out to have been in the final analysis a severe classicist, determined to transform the least classical of arts into a suitable medium for the ordered, formal expression of transcendental truth.

THE PLAY REHEARSAL SCHEDULE AND ITS PSYCHOLOGY

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HOW should a play be rehearsed? Need rehearsals be tedious and exhausting, endured only for the compensation of opening night applause? Or can rehearsals be made an exciting event in themselves for those who work in the theatre?

When we examine the many rehearsal schedules suggested for play directors, we find little agreement among them. Plays have been prepared in periods ranging from the traditional week in summer stock companies, to three years of careful labor—as in the case of The Moscow Art Theatre. What, then, is the optimum rehearsal schedule for a particular group? We get valuable assistance by examining the findings of experimental psychology on methods of learning.

Psychologists confess their knowledge of the learning process to be incomplete. It is generally accepted, however, that the method of learning has a definite bearing on learning efficiency. Consequently, there are certain factors which we may vary in the hope of finding the best method of play rehearsal.

Distribution of Practice Sessions. This is a significant factor in learning. Carr and Hovland[1] concluded that distributed practice is more effective during the early period of learning, but that near the end more massed practice can be introduced without ill effects. Psychologists are unable to make any statement as to which specific distribution of practice is best. In any cast of actors, individual differences will be found, depending on age, intelligence, prior training, energy level, and memory span.[2] The director must approximate a rehearsal schedule that is somehow a fair compromise among the psychological needs of the various members of his cast.

The effect of fatigue, of course, will reduce the effectiveness of long periods of continuous practice. Little of the data that are available on fatigue will be of value to the play director. He must discover for himself the moment when his cast is becoming tired. Many scenes are so full of physical action that rehearsals are exhausting; fatigue curves for such learning would more nearly resemble the learning of sports than mental skills. Gilmor Brown[3] suggests that actors can stand a longer rehearsal when purely technical details are being worked out, than when emotions and characterizations are stressed. The inexperienced actor, with no technique to fall back on, will have very little to offer when he is fatigued. Brown and Garwood suggest that the director can switch to perfecting some purely technical details that require less energy of the cast, if he is unwilling to dismiss rehearsal when fatigue sets in.

[1] John McGeoch, *Psychology of Human Learning* (1942), p. 119.

[2] McGeoch, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[3] Gilmor Brown and Alice Garwood, *General Principles of Play Direction* (1937), p. 166.

An experiment conducted at Winthrop College reveals some significant relations between learning efficiency and mental fatigue at different times of the learning period.[4] With classes beginning at 8 a.m. the maximum working ability of children tested, was from 10 to 11 a.m. A falling off occurs from 12 to 1 p.m., and a rise in ability comes before the dismissal at 2 p.m. In all cases, the average working rate increases after the opening of school. This emphasizes the importance of a "warming up" process, because of "mental inertia," or the tendency of the mind to persist in the same activity. The Winthrop findings point to another application for the theatre. The material which the director wishes to be mastered or concentrated on, should be presented early in the rehearsal period rather than in the last hour (which might well be used for reviewing previously studied scenes).

Recesses, lunch periods, singing and gymnastic periods, educators agree, refresh students and increase their efficiency afterwards. Tests show better results after recess if the recess is just a free period of relaxation, than if organized play is inserted.[5] The fact that singing has a good effect on efficiency of learning afterwards, is a hint to the director of a play with music. Incidental songs that occur in the play can be gone over, once they are learned, as a means of relaxing the cast after the strenuous study of an act.

The curve of forgetting, such as would apply to play practices, is significant. By far the most forgetting occurs during the first few hours or days after learning; then the curve levels out and almost reaches a plateau. This points to the conclusion that practice sessions should be close together at first and may be less frequent later on.[6] Review material should be introduced at comparatively short intervals after the original learning, to offset this curve of forgetting. McClatchy[7] found that in maze learning, 24-hour intervals gave the best results in early trials, but that later on, if the material is well enough learned, 48-hour intervals can be introduced without any higher percentage of forgetting. Comparative curves of forgetting reveal, too, that meaningful material is retained better than meaningless, or the familiar nonsense syllables. This suggests that more will be remembered if the actor is able to see a justification for certain business than if he has to memorize it mechanically. The more meaningful the director can make the words and movements of a character, the more the actor is apt to retain at the next rehearsal.

Retroactive Inhibition. What the student does between practice sessions is significant for learning efficiency. Spight found that retention of material was greater if the subject used his 12-hour interval to sleep than if he did any regular daytime activity. Moreover, the more nearly the interpolated activity resembles the original, the more detrimental will be its influence on the learning of the original. On the other hand, if the learner rehearses the material during the rest interval, he will retain more at the next session.[8] This emphasizes the necessity for the director to urge his cast to learn their lines for a specific scene for a certain date, and to review lines they have previously learned.

The Whole versus the Part Method. What is the best method for memorizing large amounts of material? There are four options:

(a) The whole can be repeated until it is learned.

[4] L. A. Robinson, *Mental Fatigue and School Efficiency* (Winthrop College, S.C., 1911).
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[6] Howard Easley, "The Curve of Forgetting," *J. Educ. Psychol.* (September, 1937), p. 474.
[7] Easley, *op. cit.*
[8] McGeoch, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

(b) Each part can be learned separately.

(c) Parts 1 and 2 can be mastered separately and then combined and learned as a whole, after which part 3 can be learned separately and then practiced with 1 and 2, etc.

(d) Part 1 can be learned, parts 1 and 2 practiced together until part 2 learned, then parts 1, 2, 3 practiced together until part 3 learned, etc.

Which method is best? Experimental findings are varied, but perhaps more tend to support (c) than any other. Among the many variables is the length of the different parts. In some cases the time taken to connect the parts together to form the whole is so great that no time was saved by the parts method. Findings by Pechstein[9] in maze-running, indicate that subjects made 80% of their total errors while connecting together the four previously learned parts.

The theory of retroactive inhibition tempts us to examine critically the common practice of blocking in the second act before the first act is in finished form. Does not this have a detrimental effect upon the actor's ability to repeat the half-learned first act? There is no doubt that the more thoroughly learned the first act is before the second act is started, the more efficiently the first act will be recalled at later run-throughs. There is, however, a factor which qualifies this conclusion: that is, the cumulative or progressive nature of a play. An actor cannot find a characterization until he understands what happens to his character in the second and third acts. Rehearsing certain key scenes in these acts may reveal the characterization to the actor and he will have to relearn the first act with this characterization. Then, too, since actors are generally intelligent artists who are entitled to a perspective on their total problem, it would be inadvisable to wait until Act I is mastered before beginning work on Act II. The only rehearsal schedule recommending the whole method, is that of Brown and Garwood,[10] who suggest blocking in the whole play at the third rehearsal of the first week. Yet a drama divides itself so neatly into acts and scenes, that it would seem logical to study it in these parts. McGeoch offers a conclusion that seems sensible for rehearsal-learning: the Parts method is superior at the beginning of practice; but as learning progresses, the Whole method will be more effective.[11] This, indeed, is a confirmation of the theatre practice of blocking in and studying of each act separately, but devoting at least a week before opening night to run-throughs of the whole play; for certain dramatic qualities, i.e., tempo, smoothness, climax, cannot be achieved by the Parts method.

Motive and Incentive. This is possibly the most influential of the conditions of optimum learning. Many things can be read over and yet not learned. To learn, we must want to learn. If desire is weak, it must be stimulated with incentives. What incentives, then, are the most effective? The goal of play production in the highest sense is to provide an exciting evening to the theatre audience. It is perhaps a little idealistic to expect every actor to be stimulated by this. Many are more entranced by themselves *in* the play than with the play and its effect. Incentives, then, should appeal to the actor's ego. In addition to an interest in drama, the nonprofessional actor may be acting out of any of several motives: (a) social approval and prestige; (b) relaxation and variety in his daily routine; (c) "just for fun"; (d) social contacts with the opposite sex; (e) the desire to win converts. It was the strength of this latter motive that gave the American theatre one of its

[9] McGeoch, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[10] Brown and Garwood, *op. cit.*

[11] McGeoch, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

most robust and healthy periods, that of the left-wing groups in the 1930's.

The incentive of social approval means that two of the director's most potent stimulants to further learning are praise and reproof. Praise and encouragement are more effective than blame or reproof.[12] Rebuke is ineffective if the person cannot find the way to avoid a particular mistake. When other methods fail, however, effective results can be achieved from ridicule or caricature before the group, providing the fault is correctable. Well-known to every educator is the incentive value of rivalry and competition. We tread on dangerous ground, however, in using rivalry as an incentive for play practice, for the simple reason that it is already playing a large, if not too large, part in the motivation of the actors. Effective ensemble playing, even the meaning of the play, can be distorted by an overemphasis on any one member of the cast. (Thus Cornell twisted the meaning of *The Doctor's Dilemma* into *The Wife's Misfortune*.) Group rivalries, such as dramatic tournaments, however, are valuable as incentives.

To complete the picture of incentives, we might include the stimulation that comes from the introduction of novelty. The director should be alert for ways to keep restimulating the cast by adding fresh problems or new business after the novelty of rehearsing has worn off. He must keep in mind, too, that the memory curve for easy items rises fast at first, then levels off, while the curve for more difficult material rises more steeply, slowly, and steadily. Therefore an actor who finds it very easy to learn lines quickly, must be constantly presented with new problems, lest he reach a stalemate while the others catch up with him.

Motivation can be stimulated in still another way: Learning is more efficient when the learner knows his progress than when he is not told until the end.[13] Gilmor Brown observes, in regard to incentives, that if the date of performance is contingent upon rehearsal progress, there will be less progress than if a definite date is set. Moreover, if the date is too far off, the cast loses interest and goes stale, and thus the advantage of the longer rehearsal period will be counteracted by the lack of incentive.

Psychologists emphasize the importance of the insight process in learning. Insight is characterized by a great deal of trial and error, fumbling in the early process, until the "Eureka" or "aha!" comes with a sudden discovery of meaning.[14] This "aha!" experience the theatre worker will recognize as a frequent occurrence. Many a characterization has been found in this way, as has the staging of difficult scenes. It must be emphasized, however, that the insight comes after fumbling and effort. The director must be aware of this process. He must suggest actions for the actors to play, rather than methods of playing them. Thus the actor's mind is left more open to insight than if the director's insight is handed to him ready-made.

The four major factors that alter the method of play practice have been touched upon: distribution of practice sessions, activity of the learner between practices, the whole versus the parts method, and motivation. With these as a reference, I have attempted to evaluate existing rehearsal schedules, and arrive at one that might serve particular requirements—with the understanding that no two plays are alike, and that a specific situation will necessitate variation from any fixed schedule. I have assumed the play to be a three-act play of modern period, without any special problems of

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 269.

[13] Knight Dunlap, *Habits* (1932), p. 126.

[14] S. H. Britt, "Learning and Remembering in Educational Broadcasting," *Education* (November, 1938), pp. 169-173.

be explained briefly, and the number of games to be played should be determined.

Speech Bingo may be played with either the numbered or the plain side of the wooden markers. The child and the teacher each select a number card and place it on the table. After a warming up drill, the teacher holds up a picture card and the child endeavors to say the name of the picture. If he does so correctly he may draw a marker from the box and place it on top of a number on his card. If he fails, the teacher draws a marker. The object of the game is to see who can cover all the numbers on his card first. If the child is older, the chance factor may be added by matching numbers. If, after pronouncing the sound correctly, the child can make a match he plays. If not, he must discard the marker.

The simplest way to play Speech Checkers is to use only one red and one black checker. The child places his checker in the right hand corner of the checker board and the instructor starts his from the left hand corner of his side of the board. If the pupil succeeds in saying the sound in the word he moves his checker diagonally one square. If he misses, the teacher moves. The goal is to get to the opposite side of the board first, and to see if the pupil can "whitewash" the teacher.

In Speech Dominoes the players draw seven dominoes and play a domino each time the sound is used correctly in a word or short sentence. The blank side of the domino should be used with small children, and the object be only to see who can get rid of his dominoes first. The numbered side of the dominoes may be used with older children, except that no scoring should be attempted, but only matching of numbers at the two ends of the domino pattern. If a player cannot match he must draw from the "boneyard." At the end of the game, each player must say correctly a difficult word for each domino he has failed to discard.

Chinese Checkers are fun. The child may use one color of marbles and build a row on the board as he produces the speech sound correctly.

A cribbage board is helpful in measuring success. The student may race a peg on the right hand side of the board named "Good Speech" with a peg on the left named "Baby Speech." The goal is to keep "Baby Speech" at "home" while "Good Speech" does all of the traveling.

The Game of India may be played in a similar fashion. Or the teacher may race a marker with the student. Other dime games such as "Kentucky Derby Racing Game," "Baseball," "Spinette," "Horse Racing Game," and "Game of Fire Fighters" can be used in the same way.

Children's card games may be used effectively. A deck of airplane cards and a deck of speech cards illustrating the sound to be mastered are the only equipment needed to motivate to action boys from the third grade on. One way of playing this game is to place both decks face down on the table. The pupil takes a speech sound card from its pile. If he fulfills the speech requirement set up he may put the card face down in a pile and pick up an airplane picture to put face up before him. If he fails he may have no airplane picture that time. Six to ten airplane pictures constitute a game if there are two players.

A collection of six to ten midget mirrors may be of aid in the speech lesson, and especially so where the student is learning to produce kinesthetically a sound he has practiced in front of a mirror. Place the small mirrors in a box before the pupil. If he makes the sound correctly, he may pronounce the name of the object on the next card. If he fails, he must take a mirror from the box and place it on the table in front of him. The goal is to be allowed to say all the words without having to take a mirror. The

penalty is to have to say words for each mirror while watching articulatory movements before being allowed to return the mirror to the box.

Preschool and kindergarten children usually like to draw. "Follow the Dot" books are especially adaptable to the speech lesson. The child selects a page, and for each satisfactory sound produced may draw a line to the next dot.

A game of Pick-Up Sticks is almost indispensable to the speech therapist who works with children. Cartwheels may be set up for obstacle races run, for example, by two toy dogs. "Mr. Good Speech," and "Bojo, the Baby." Ladders may be arranged for climbing by a toy animal upon the child's correct utterance of a sound, thereby eliminating the need for expensive commercial games. Different colored sticks may represent different sounds in games invented for ear training.

Games such as the "Donkey Ring Toss Game" are also helpful in ear training. Additional cardboard circles may be cut, and the child allowed to put a ring on the donkey's right ear for the "right" sound and on the left ear for the "wrong" sound. One color may represent one sound in placing circles on the pipe of the game called "Popeye."

All of these parlor games may be adapted to ear training work. A good way of getting the materials of a game put away is to practice ear training on the sound assigned for the next lesson. Half of the dominoes, for example, may be put to the child's right and half to his left. As he listens, he may put a domino into the box from the side representing the proper sound. Any small penalty may be required for errors as long as it promotes the learning of the new sound.

The benefits of using parlor games in speech correction are many. For a relatively small cost and for the expenditure of a little ingenuity, a teacher can easily acquire a well-stocked cupboard of speech materials. Worry about motivating lessons is alleviated.

The child is given manual activity during his drill period. If the attention span is short, the simplification of a game into the handling of a single object combats the tendency for attention to wander and obviates the desire to play with nearby objects or with clothing. Intergame activities, such as hopping or skipping to the blackboard to mark down the score, are easily included and these supply exercise to relieve the sitting period.

Parlor games may help to break the ice in newly begun speech lessons. The appearance of an old familiar game in the strange surroundings may help the child to feel more at home. Many times the very fact that he is familiar with the game arouses his curiosity to play it a new way.

At home games frequently serve to interest the whole family in the child's speech lessons. When Ann calls for the checker board and invites Daddy to see how "Speech Checkers" is played, she may soon find the help she so badly needs at home, and without the negativism associated with drill or the stigma often attached to "home work."

The satisfaction experienced by the speech correctionist will over-measure by far the effort expended if at the end of the school year only one student volunteers, as did Bob, a severe articulatory case of seven, "I like speech. We've had a new game *every* lesson. May I have more lessons next fall?"

Perhaps, after all, a plug for the dime store is in order!

A SIX-MONTH REPORT ON THE PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT OF A THIRTEEN-YEAR-OLD STUTTERING BOY

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I. Introduction

SPEECH pathologists know more about stuttering than they once did, and perhaps because of this, they are less sure of their theories. Enough laboratory and statistical investigations have been performed to demonstrate not only the value, but also the limitations, of various approaches, and the results have implied that such studies might profitably be supplemented by thorough-going individual case studies.

What such individualized investigations can indicate is the pattern of functional relationships that make the individual, and the statistical data concerning the stutterer, meaningful to the speech correctionist. Moreover, what the speech correctionist does specifically in particular cases to modify these relationships, and therefore modify the stutterer's behavior, is in turn, because of its observable effects, instructive to the laboratory scientist. The problem cannot be effectively approached either through the laboratory alone or the clinic alone.

The following report is presented in accordance with this point of view. It covers a period of six months from October, 1942 through March, 1943. The report concerns a thirteen-year-old boy, who had stuttered for seven years, and it describes the procedures and the effects of a six-month program of retraining.

II. Description of the Case

When the boy was first seen by the writer in October, 1942, he exhibited great tension during stuttering. His hands were clenched as if he were holding tightly onto something. As he tried to speak, he would block with a hissing sound, his whole face tensed, his jaws filled out, his eyes opened wide, and the balls of his eyes rolled upward. He appeared to gasp for breath as he sucked in air through his mouth and then tried to force out the word. His entire body was rigid. His arm and leg muscles felt extremely hard.

He did not talk on the telephone; he avoided social situations; he could not recite in the classroom. The teachers did not know what he was really capable of doing. The mother expressed antagonism toward one of the teachers who did not seem to know how to help the boy, and the principal thought the mother shielded the child from facing his own problems.

III. Case History

Born, the second child, into a happy home, of above average socio-economic status, above average social and moral standards, the child at an early age tried to reach the level of performance of his sister, three and one-half years older. The influence of a grandmother's partiality to the boy perhaps increased the sister's jealousy of him. His companionship during the preschool years consisted mostly of children of the sister's age level. The boy developed eczema at two weeks, which medical treatment has been unable to check. During the summer months the eczema became severe; infection often resulted which made it necessary to bandage his arms. He attended kindergarten where he was one of the youngest in his group.

The mother did not remember being aware of the child's stuttering until he

was in the first grade, where he was again the youngest of his group. He entered first grade at midyear. During the summer following (1935) he was referred by a psychiatrist to the State University of Iowa Speech Clinic for treatment of stuttering. Since 1935 he has been treated by various clinicians and by various methods. Each time his environment was enlarged his condition became worse. According to the mother, he has had some fluent periods (we could not find this to be definitely true in school and in social situations). But each time a new situation, particularly in school, or in a more or less formal sense in society, presented itself, he became more tense and fearful and less able to speak.[1]

A woman neighbor remembered him as a little boy who in the summers had his arms and hands bandaged in white cloths from his fingers to his elbows. He sold vegetables at an early age and often came to her house. The woman's daughter felt sorry for the child and talked to him, realizing that some adults and many children shunned him because of the condition of his arms, fearing he had a disease which they might get. Other children actually ran away from him. During those years he stuttered badly.[2]

Another neighbor, a well-educated man, who had seen the boy over a period of ten years, remarked, "When that boy was younger he seemed a little queer. He was shy and unwilling to look you in the face. He didn't seem to have good physical and mental coordination. He was undersized and looked funny on a bicycle. His face was often scratched and scabby—if we hadn't known he was from a nice home, we would have thought he came from a dirty home. There was a striking difference between the boy and his sister. She was very bright, attractive and alert."

When he entered junior high school in February, 1941, his stuttering became very pronounced. In the summer of 1942 he attended a scout camp, from which he returned in a state of great anxiety.[3] This was his first lengthy experience away from family or relatives.[4]

By October, 1942, he was in the serious condition of exaggerated blocking in which the present clinician first encountered him.

IV. Treatment[5]

Treatment was approached by considering the child in his total environment.[6] The factors mentioned, in relation to tension and striving, such as high goals set by the environment at the preschool age, competition with and jealousy of the sister, diagnosis of stuttering in the first grade,[7] and failure on top of failure[8] in all life contacts since six years of age, were all considered in planning the treatment.

The treatment consisted of approaching the child from two angles: from "within himself" and from his environment. These are artificial classifications for purposes of analysis only. It is impossible to discuss one without considering the other, or to affect one without affecting the other. Thus considerable overlapping of the two will be found in the following discussion.

[1] G. Devereux, "A Sociological Theory of Schizophrenia." *The Psychoanalytic Review*, xxvi (July, 1939), 315-342.

[2] A. Adler, *Understanding Human Nature* (1927). On p. 69 the problem of organ inferiority in relation to personality development is discussed in a way relevant to the present case.

[3] K. Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time* (1937). Particularly on p. 44 the dynamics of anxiety are well presented.

[4] A. Korzybski, seminar notes, August, 1942, and January, 1943.

[5] The clinical work with this case was carried out at the State University of Iowa under the supervision of Wendell Johnson.

[6] K. Lewin, *A Dynamic Theory of Personality*, p. 71, on interrelationship of the dynamic factors concerned in behavior.

[7] W. Johnson, "A Semantic Theory of Stuttering" *Stuttering, Significant Theories and Therapies*, edited by E. Hahn (Stanford University Press, 1943).

[8] R. R. Sears, "Success and Failure," *Studies in Personality*, Q. McNemar and M. A. Merrill, editors (1942), pp. 235-258.

A. *From "within himself" (Extensionalization and Re-evaluation)*[9]

First, this treatment consisted of making the child feel that he was a worthy individual by looking up to him and by making him feel that what he had to say was important.

Second, he was given certain tools with which to attack his fears. These tools consisted of (1) semantic relaxation[10] (2) improved word-fact relationships[11] (3) changing of the child's attitudes toward himself as a personality[12] and (4) changing his attitudes toward his speech.[13] Under this fourth heading we attempted to get him to assume the attitude of not caring if he did stutter or hesitate, and to be willing to accept nonfluency such as th-th-th-this.

Although these topics are discussed separately in this report, they were all used together in the actual treatment.

The first step in the treatment was to change the child's attitude toward himself. An intelligence test was given and the results interpreted to him. (The I.Q. was 112, as measured by Form L of the 1937 revision of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test.) He was made to realize that his poor school performance was not due to inferior ability but to anxiety about speaking. Every reasonable effort was made to make him feel that he was a worthy individual. In general, the clinician treated him as she would an adult guest in her home and she insisted that others do the same.

Also, keeping in mind the necessity of carrying this treatment into the child's total environment, an effort was made to induce certain key people to adopt this same policy toward the child. This attitude permeated every situation set up for him.

The second step of treating the individual from "within himself" was training in semantic relaxation. Semantic relaxation is done without speaking. The boy was asked to sit on the edge of a straight chair. He was taught to examine in a gentle way with his hand the head, face, and neck muscles in order to become aware of the amount of tension. It was pointed out to him that when a muscle is tense, the skin tends to be cold and moist, whereas a relaxed muscle makes for a warm, dry, soft, and flexible skin. Then as a relaxing procedure he was taught to grasp with the whole hand each of these muscles in turn in an easy and gentle way as if doing it to a three-year-old child, to shake each muscle gently with a soft hand, using wrist movement. He practiced semantic relaxation regularly before he read to the mirrophone, or before the mirror, or before a clinical group. The first time he was relaxed, he put his head down on the desk and mentioned that he was so tired he wanted to go to sleep, and he proceeded to do so. This type of relaxation was carried by him into the home and school situations. He was requested to do it many times daily, even in the classroom. By this technique he became able for the first time to relax and to recite in the classroom. Previously he had sat in a state of anxiety thinking about when the teacher would call on him, thus working up such a degree of fear that when he was called on he could hardly say a word.

Another tool to help attack his fears was improved word-fact relationship. He

[9] A. Korzybski, *Science and Sanity*, Intro., p. xxviii. "Psychotherapy, no matter of what school, is based on the partial and particular extensionalization of a given patient"; pp. 171-182 on Extensionalization; Intro. pp. xiv-xvi on mis-evaluations; pp. 196-197. Also S. F. Brown, "An Analysis of Certain Data Concerning Loci of 'Stutterings' From the Viewpoint of General Semantics," *Papers, Second American Congress on General Semantics*, Univ. of Denver, August, 1941, compiled and edited by M. Kendig (Institute of General Semantics, Chicago, (1943), p. 199. "Mis-evaluations are responsible for many of the immediate difficulties of the stutterer."

[10] C. Schuchardt, *The Technique of Semantic Relaxation* (Institute of General Semantics, Chicago, February, 1943).

[11] S. I. Hayakawa, *Language in Action* (1941). Also A. Korzybski, *op. cit.*

[12] C. R. Rogers, *Counselling and Psychotherapy: Newer Concepts in Practice* (1942), pp. 131-216.

[13] C. Van Riper, *Speech Correction: Principles and Methods* (1939), pp. 347-348.

was taught to describe facts in as simple a way as possible. He was asked not to memorize words, or verbal forms, as an aid in speaking, but rather to think about the definite object or thing to be spoken about and then as he visualized or otherwise remembered it to talk about the facts in a simple, orderly manner. If he was talking about a particular game, for example, he would stand on his feet, visualize the game and then describe it simply as he actually remembered it. Facts first, then description of facts second, would appear to be the natural order of the nervous system.[14] This type of approach seemed to give him confidence and to reduce his fear of speaking. His fear of not remembering words was erased. He soon became able to stand on his feet and think about the facts before saying any words. He remarked, "When I began to be able to talk, my classmates listened to what I had to say. I had noticed that they had often looked out of the window when some of the other talks were being given." It was obvious that he was able to hold the attention of graduate classes in the university when talking to them about his past fears of speaking, etc. In fact, from having spoken several times before such classes he has gained a reputation for being an unusually effective and impressive speaker.

Still another tool given the child was to change his attitude toward his speech from the fear of stuttering to the realization that hesitations are normal in fluent speakers.[15] As an example, he observed a six-year-old child use the mirrophone, a machine which records the voice and plays it back like a record player. He listened to the child's voice as the machine was played again and again. The many normal hesitations of the six-year-old were noticeable. It seemed to relieve him to have these normal speech imperfections pointed out to him and explained. It was mentioned that no attention had been called to the six-year-old's hesitations, as had been done when the boy in this case was six years old. He had been called a "stutterer" because he hesitated in a similar way. As another example of normal hesitations in speaking, he observed an adult use the mirrophone and then he played the recording several times. The hesitations of the adult were many, yet they were normal hesitations in speech.

We succeeded to a marked degree in getting him to assume the attitude of not caring if he did "stutter" or hesitate, and to be willing to accept nonfluency. An example of this nonfluency is the so-called bounce technique; the child is taught to repeat deliberately on the first syllable of each word (one form of controlled speech). Since the boy had developed great fear of normal hesitations in his speech, as evidenced by his stuttering and tension, it was very difficult for him suddenly to be willing consciously to speak hesitatingly after seven years of fear of stuttering.

It was not enough that the child himself accept nonfluency, but it was also necessary that he feel the people to whom he spoke accepted it as a satisfactory way of speaking for him. In view of this, the child was asked to talk to his sister, his parents, his principal, his teachers, his scout leader, and his close friends about this conscious hesitating as an important step in overcoming his speech tension, as a step in facing an overwhelming fear, as a step in unlearning reactions that had been well learned. In order to get these key people to be willing to listen to the boy in an understanding way, the clinician interviewed each of them and so-

[14] A. Korzybski, *Science and Sanity* (Lancaster, Pa., second ed., 1941), pp. 59, 157 ff., 180 ff., 224, 330 ff.

[15] D. Davis, "The Relation of Repetitions in the Speech of Young Children in Relation to Certain Measures of Language Maturity and Situational Factors." *J. Speech Disorders*, IV (1939), 303-318, and V (1940), 238-246.

licited their interest and cooperation, explaining that whatever improvement the boy might make would be due to their understanding of him and of his attempts to turn failure of speaking into attainable success—his attempt to be nonfluent as a step in overcoming his fear and tension. Careful follow-ups were then made to be sure that an acceptable attitude was being taken by these key people toward the boy's conscious hesitations, toward his acceptance of nonfluency in an easy relaxed manner as a satisfactory means of talking. These key people were asked to compliment the child on the nonfluency when he did it in an easy relaxed way and to laugh in a friendly way with him about his fears.

After thus preparing the way, the child was led to talk about his stuttering to his family, friends, teachers, scout leader and also to strangers; to be willing to take advantage of all available opportunities to speak either in person or on the phone; and finally to be able to accept and enjoy social contacts so that more of them would be desired and planned for.

B. *From his environment*[16]

In the plan of treatment of the child from the standpoint of his total environment, attack was made at the places where the child had experienced the most failure, where he had received the most humiliation, where he had been thought inferior, where he was the most insecure. Some indication of what was done in this connection has already been given. First, attention was given to the school situation; second, to social situations; and the home treatment was coordinated with the other two programs. So-called key people were selected in the child's environment: namely, the parents, the sister, three of his teachers, the school principal, the scout master and a friend. The attempt was made to get each of them to change his or her attitude toward the boy, by re-evaluating the facts about him. Rapport was carefully established. Their opinions and information about the boy were secured. They were made to realize that they could play an important part in helping the boy overcome his fear and tension about speaking, that what they were to do could not be done by anyone else, and that the amount of improvement the boy made would be in proportion to their interest and cooperation. First of all, the clinician made clear certain facts about the child: (1) organically there was nothing wrong with him except an eczematoid condition which has been prevalent since infancy; (2) the child had normal intelligence even though he was at the failure mark in some of his school work; (3) there was nothing wrong with his speech mechanism; (4) his stuttering had developed after someone in his environment had changed that environment drastically for him by evaluating him as a stutterer; (5) after someone had evaluated the normal hesitations in his speech as stuttering, the child tried to talk without normal hesitations (which is impossible) with the result that more tension and fear accumulated to the point where he could hardly talk at all.

Second, the clinician made clear the part these individuals could play in helping the child (1) by complimenting him whenever he seemed relaxed, easy, not in a hurry; (2) by their acceptance of nonfluency performed in this easy relaxed way as a satisfactory way for the boy to speak; (3) by being willing to listen to the child talk (using the bounce technique) about his speech in the at-

[16] M. E. Kenworthy and P. Lee, *Mental Hygiene and Social Work* (1929), p. 133, "If any bit of successful social treatment is analyzed, however, it will be seen that its success lies not only in the use of the facts and concepts of psychiatric and social science, but quite as much in an ingenious and imaginative use of a multitude of minor devices, emphases, suggestions, etc., which collectively have furnished the basis of an effective relationship between the worker, the patient, his family and others."

tempt to face his fear of speaking and to laugh with him in a friendly way about it; (4) by treating him as a friend; (5) by complimenting him on the use of the bounce when done by him in an easy, relaxed way; (6) by getting him to talk about facts or objects and not about words as such; (7) by providing situations in which he could have success in speaking; (8) by providing new speaking situations for him and (9) by their example getting others around them to change their attitudes toward the boy.

Following are examples of work done and the resulting adjustment (1) with the sister (2) in junior high school (3) with the scout master (4) on a scout trip (5) with a friend (6) on a job (7) at a school party and (8) in senior high school.

1. *Work done with the boy's sister.* An attempt was made to change the attitude of the sister toward her brother. We asked her to listen in a calm way to the boy when he explained to her about his speech and to laugh pleasantly with him about his stuttering. We complimented the girl whenever she showed signs of regarding the brother as a friend at his own age level rather than as a competitor at her age level. We urged her to listen to him read and to compliment him on the use of the bounce technique, or nonfluency, when he did it in an easy, relaxed manner. We were able to get her to help him review his daily school work with a view to helping him raise his grades and providing more speech situations with her. When the boy entered senior high school in February, 1943, he took his sister to the first dance at the school and they both had a good time.

2. *School situation.* The child was asked to talk to his civics teacher (this teacher was chosen as his adjustment in this class was the most difficult) about his stuttering and to arrange for the clinician to see her. The clinician found that the civics teacher knew practically nothing about the child except what was indicated in the records of her grade book, which showed his present grade at the failure mark. The clinician explained about the child's fear of speaking and suggested that she help him face these fears. We recommended that the teacher be a friend to the boy and listen to him when and if he attempted to talk. Then when the boy approached her she was ready to listen sympathetically to his story as to why he stuttered and what he had to do to overcome it. She complimented him when he used the bounce in an easy relaxed way in telling the class his story. At first he showed considerable tension when he got up before the class, but he noticed the teacher's approval and got through his first speaking situation before his class with a measure of success. This was his best success with his age group in seven years of stuttering and fear of speaking. As a matter of fact, it was the very first time he had ever attempted anything that could be called "speaking to an audience." When a couple of boys in the room began to laugh, the teacher frowned on them, and in the end the talk was turned into something of interest to the class as well as success for the boy. She complimented him on the use of the bounce and his lack of tension. The next day he gave another talk to the same class, and other talks followed. By the end of the semester, early in February, 1943, he had raised his class grade in addition to overcoming his fear of speaking in the classroom.

3. *Scout Master.* On one occasion the boy was asked to talk with his scout master about his stuttering, why he did it and what he had to do to overcome it. The child tensed and said his scout master was busy. He was, in fact, a busy man but we got in touch with him. He said

that for ten years he had been a friend to the boy's father but never once had he had, or created, an occasion to discuss the stuttering with him. In talking about the boy's stuttering, he remarked that in scout meetings "not only does the boy stutter when he tries to talk, but at times he just can't say a word." We gave the man some knowledge of the boy's condition and told him how he could aid. The scout master found the time and opportunity, and the child talked with him (using the bounce and showing some tension) for fifteen minutes. The child later remarked to the clinician with great enthusiasm, "I talked to my scout master about my speech for fifteen minutes. He wasn't hard to talk to and he listened to every word I said." This gave the boy courage to face other difficult speech situations.

4. *Scout Troop.* A week later the scouts were having a three-day camp at their cabin in the country. The child did not want to go, saying it was too expensive. But when the clinician suggested to the father that it would be a good experience for the boy, he overrode the financial objections. The boy's assignment was to talk to his camp friends about his stuttering, about his fear of speaking. In reporting afterwards he said that he had been puzzled as to how he might bring up the subject of his speech with the five boys at the camp, but then he remembered that one of the boys had a young sister who stuttered. So he asked, "How is your sister getting along at the speech clinic?" Then he talked to his camp friends about his own stuttering. His reaction to the experience was very good, showing that he had achieved some measure of success in facing his fear in a situation where in the summer he had had complete failure.

5. *A friend.* On one occasion the boy was requested to talk to a girl who is a friend of his sister. Although he had known the girl for many years, he did not want to do the assignment. A small social group was arranged at the clinician's home, where several university students who stuttered were present, and the sister's friend was present on the pretext of looking after the clinician's son. The boy was asked to talk to the girl about his stuttering, why he did it and what he had to do to overcome it. The girl had been coached to listen to him in a genuinely friendly manner, and to notice with how much ease he was using the bounce technique and to compliment him on his lack of tension. All the students at the party who stuttered were required to use the bounce, and in order to make the stutterers feel more at ease, some of the other people present also used it, the clinician included. The boy seemed to have mastered the bounce technique that night. He did it with more ease and less tension than any of the older students who stuttered. The group played the piano, sang songs, told stories and "faked" blocks on the telephone. Five of the people present did not stutter but were good listeners.

At a later party in the clinician's home, the boy was instructed to listen to the other stutterers and give them every opportunity to practice the bounce. He was very cooperative in this way.

6. *On a job.* By Christmas vacation in December, 1942, the boy was almost entirely over his fear and tension about speaking. He secured a job, doing errands at the Navy Pre-Flight school. He was urged to take advantage of every opportunity to talk to the cadets about his speech. He continued at our request to speak nonfluently part of the time when talking to cadets. He had many opportunities to talk to the Naval students about his speech. He continued to erase further his fear by facing it. In talking to the clinician about it, he said at this stage, "I have no tension, I can

talk like anyone else."

7. *A school party.* Early in February, 1943, he left the junior high school at which time a farewell party was given for his class. He was chosen and served on the entertainment committee. He had his first date. Three boys and three girls went together to the party. Since that time he has had many dates. In speaking to the clinician about the party he said, "I had a wonderful time."

8. *Senior high school.* After graduating from junior high school in February, 1943, he entered senior high school which is located in another part of town. His English teacher, who has known him for the first time since February, 1943, cannot believe that he ever did stutter. She remarked, "He is one of my best students from junior high." His algebra teacher was surprised to learn that he had formerly stuttered. His grades for the first six weeks were above average.

V. Summary of Results[17]

1. The child now appears to have no more tension, possibly less, than the average child of his age.
2. He has stopped crying at home. (Formerly he cried often.)
3. He has a better relationship with his sister.
4. He keeps company with girls in a way that seems at least average for his age.
5. He goes to school dances and social functions to an extent and with satisfactions that seem to be average for his age.
6. He has the attitude toward his speech: "I don't care if I do hesitate."
7. He seems to be almost as fluent as the average normal speaker—not only in the clinic but in all of his speech situations.
8. He has confidence in himself as a speaker, being willing and eager to face new speech situations.
9. He speaks with ease, to university classes, answering their questions confidently and effectively, occasionally using the bounce (controlled nonfluency).
10. His study habits are improved.
11. His penmanship is tremendously improved.
12. His school grades have been raised considerably.
13. He has made a very good adjustment in a new school situation.
14. He has made his first satisfactory school adjustment since he started to school seven years ago.

[17] I wish to acknowledge my debt to Laila Packman.

EXPERIMENTAL AND STATISTICAL RESEARCH IN GENERAL SPEECH:

I. Effects of Training and Correlates of Speech Skill

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OVER a period of years, and particularly during the last decade, an increasing number of statistical and experimental investigations of interest to students and teachers of speech have appeared in publication. The pace of this development has been rapid, and little corresponding effort has been made to draw the widely scattered studies together and organize them around salient

issues and topics. To meet this need the author recently undertook to provide an outline and annotated bibliography for research in the general field of speech.[1] In the preparation of the manuscript it was found that a large proportion of the three hundred and fifty-four items in the bibliography referred as a whole or in part to one of the following general topics:

1. Effects of Speech Training
2. Correlates of Speech Skill
3. Speaker-Audience Research

The purpose of the present article is to present an overview of the research in the first two areas, to note some of the techniques of investigation, and to indicate some trends of evidence. It would be impossible to mention all of the studies; those cited, therefore, are intended to be suggestive and representative, rather than conclusive and exhaustive.

Effects of Training

Types of Research. There have appeared in publication reports on approximately a score of investigations, or programs of research, in which attempts were made to measure the educational gains derived by students from formal courses in speech. Following is a classification of these evaluative studies, based chiefly on the kinds of criterion measures employed. An example is given for each technique of investigation.

(a) *Comparison of initial and final ratings on general speech effectiveness.* Students are rated for general effectiveness at the beginning and end of a period of speech training. The differences between the averages of the initial and final ratings are analyzed for statistical significance. Borchers'[2] study of the gains resulting from direct and indirect teaching may be taken as an example of this type of experimental evaluation. Three equated sections of high-school students were taught by different methods, and their progress was measured through general ratings made at the beginning and end of the training period by a large and representative group of judges. Improvement was found to be greatest in the section in which direct individual instruction was combined with the study of subject matter. This result was confirmed in a similar experiment carried out at another high school by another teacher.

(b) *Comparison of initial and final ratings on specific speech traits.* Instead of employing ratings on general effectiveness alone, the students are rated on a number of aspects of behavior. Nystrom and Leaf[3] used ratings on pitch, rate, loudness, quality, enunciation, pronunciation, and general ability in an evaluative study of voice recordings. Each student in the experimental section made a number of voice records during a training period of one semester, and spent at least one half hour per week listening to his recordings. He received no direct assistance from the instructor while hearing the records. Under these conditions the recording machine seemed to contribute little or nothing to the progress of the student.

(c) *Comparison of initial and final personality test scores.* Personality tests are given at the beginning and end of a period of training to determine the effect of the course on personality. A half dozen or more published tests have been used as criterion measures in this type of study. Rose[4] employed the Bernreuter Personality Inventory with an experimental group of two hundred and ninety-one college speech students. A significant decrease in neurotic tendency and increase in dominance were found.

(d) *Counting specific traits.* Specially trained observers count items of behavior, such as breaks in fluency and eye contact. The data may be combined into a composite, weighted score, and used as the basis of an index of improvement. Criteria of this type were employed by Hayworth and colleagues[5] in an extended program of evaluated research.

(e) *Direct questionnaire.* A questionnaire is used through which the student expresses

[1] Howard Gilkinson, *Outlines of Research in General Speech* (Minneapolis 1943).

[2] Gladys Borchers, "Speech Without Work?" Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXI (June, 1935), 376-378.

[3] Clarence L. Nystrom and Roberta Leaf, "The Recording Machine as a Teaching Device," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXV (October, 1939), 433-438.

[4] Forrest H. Rose, "Training in Speech and Changes in Personality," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXVI (April, 1940), 193-196.

[5] Donald Hayworth, *A Research into the Teaching of Public Speaking*, Committee on Cooperative Research, National Association of Teachers of Speech.

his opinion on the value of a course, or estimates his improvement. Such forms are usually improvised. A prepared scale for the general evaluation of a course by students has been published.[6]

(f) *Case history.* Detailed records are kept on the diagnosis, treatment, and progress of the student. Bryngelson[7] presented three case studies in an exposition and evaluation of mental hygiene methods applied to general speech training.

(g) *Comparison of preserved samples.* Voice recordings are made at the beginning and end of a period of training and compared to determine the amount of speech improvement. Drushal[8] employed this technique in an experimental study of the relative values of practice in memorized and extemporaneous speaking. Direct practice in extemporaneous speaking seemed to contribute more to the development of skill in extemporaneous speaking than did practice in the delivery of memorized material.

These techniques of evaluative research have been usefully employed in the studies cited. They differ with respect to inherent value, depending, of course, upon the proof requirements and purposes of an investigation. Case histories lack rigid proof of improvement, but permit the inclusion of illuminating details which are usually excluded from statistical and experimental studies. Conceivably, an element of bias might influence the outcomes of a study based on ratings for general effectiveness, or specific traits, made at the beginning and end of a course. Questionnaire responses may reflect varying degrees of enthusiasm for speech instruction among students, but they have doubtful value as evidence of actual improvement.[9] Counting methods have a high degree of reliability, but they involve limited aspects of speech behavior, and they could be influenced by bias. The comparing or rating of voice records made at the beginning and end of a period of training seems to offer the best opportunity to secure objective evidence of speech improvement. Certain conditions have to be fulfilled. There must be an adequate group of judges, the initial and final speeches must be comparable in nature and difficulty, and the judges should not be permitted to know whether any given recording was made in the initial or final series. The latter condition is easily fulfilled when read material is used, but in extemporaneous speech, references to seasonal activities and current events frequently "give away" the time at which the speech was made. Among the published studies of this type, Drushal's[10] comes as close as any to employing necessary controls. The use of inventories as criterion measures in evaluative studies is undoubtedly worthwhile, but personality testing is difficult and we do not yet know for sure what an altered test score at the termination of a speech course means in terms of changing behavior and attitudes.

There is another type of research which may be regarded as belonging in this general area. It is not concerned with speech improvement as such, but with the academic status of groups engaged in various extracurricular activities including drama and debate. Dietrich[11] investigated the relationship between participation in extracurricular dramatics and scholastic achievement among university students. The grades of the drama groups were found to be somewhat superior to those of the general student population. Chapin[12] found

[6] E. B. Silance and H. H. Remmers, "An Experimental Generalized Master Scale: A Scale to Measure Attitude Toward Any School Subject," *Bulletin of Purdue University*, 35, *Studies in Higher Education*, XXVI (December, 1934), 84-87.

[7] Bryng Bryngelson, "Personality Changes," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XIV (April, 1928), 207-218.

[8] J. Garber Drushal, "An Objective Analysis of Two Techniques of Teaching Delivery in Public Speaking," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XXV (December, 1939), 561-569.

[9] Hayworth, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[10] Drushal, *op. cit.*

[11] John E. Dietrich, "What is the Effect of Participation in Extracurricular Dramatics on Scholastic Achievement," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XXVIII (February, 1942), 55-60.

[12] F. S. Chapin, "Extracurricular Activities of College Students," *School and Society*, XXIII (1926), 212-216.

that activity in student affairs, including forensics and drama, correlated .40 with grades. Presumably, the scholastic superiority of activity groups is to be ascribed to selection.[13]

Correlates of Speech Skill

The general purpose of the research in this area has been the discovery of variables associated with speech skill. The data in many of the investigations have been based upon the direct reactions of listeners to speakers, and it has been necessary to study the form, reliability, and validity of ratings on speech behavior. Bryan and Wilke[14] carried out an extended research program in developing the *Scale for Rating Public Speeches.* The latest revision of the scale provides for separate ratings on sixteen traits. A score representing the over-all proficiency of a speaker can be computed on the basis of totals and averages. The reliability of the scale (agreement among untrained judges) is indicated in the following coefficients: .66 for five raters, .83 for ten raters, and .91 for twenty raters. This study, as well as one carried out by Monroe, Remmers, and Venemann-Lyle,[15] indicates poor agreement among single untrained judges. Nor has the amount of agreement among trained judges been found to be particularly high. Knower[16] analyzed a large mass of data gathered from the records of speech contests held at national and regional tournaments, and found a correlation of .35 (between two judges) for declamation contests, and .46 for contests in extemporaneous speaking. The author estimated that sixteen judges would be required to produce a reliability coefficient of .90 for declamation, and eight judges to produce a coefficient of .87 for extemporaneous speaking.

High reliability for single judges, or small groups of judges, has been reported in other studies. But, considering the total picture of research, it must be said that judges, trained as well as untrained, agree only moderately well. Perhaps this lack of agreement reflects to some extent definite differences in standards of judgment. However, Drushal[17] has shown that trained judges do not agree perfectly with themselves. Four teachers rating the same recorded speeches more than once produced self-correlations ranging from .56 to .75, with an average of .65. Lack of agreement between judges therefore must be due not only to differences in standards but also to the fluctuation of standards.

Some of the scales employed in research and in the classroom require the judge to rate the speakers on a number of different traits. It is a well known fact that judgments on specific characteristics are governed to a considerable extent by the rater's general impression of the person being judged. Monroe, Remmers, and Venemann-Lyle[18] found that student judges were strongly influenced by general impression (halo effect). Intercorrelations among seven traits have been reported by Eckert and Keys.[19] There was evidence in this case that the scales were used with considerable discrimination. For example, fluency and voice quality correlated .37, whereas expressiveness and general effectiveness correlated .85. The divergent outcomes of the two foregoing studies suggest greater discrimination in teacher judgments

[13] D. Segal and M. M. Proffitt, "Some Factors in the Adjustment of College Students," *U. S. Office of Education Bulletin,* XII (1937), 6-9.

[14] Alice I. Bryan and Walter H. Wilke, "A Technique for Rating Public Speeches," *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* V (March-April, 1941), 80-90.

[15] A. H. Monroe and H. H. Remmers and E. Venemann-Lyle, "Measuring the Effectiveness of Public Speech in the Beginning Course," *Bulletin of Purdue University,* 37, *Studies in Higher Education,* XXIX (September, 1936).

[16] Franklin Knower, "A Study of Rank-Order Methods of Evaluating Performances in Speech Contests," *Journal of Applied Psychology,* XXIV (October, 1940), 633-644.

[17] Drushal, *op. cit.*

[18] Monroe, Remmers, and Venemann-Lyle, *op. cit.*

[19] R. G. Eckert and N. Keys, "Public Speaking as a Clue to Personality," *Journal of Applied Psychology,* XXIV (1940), 144-153.

than in student judgments. Proof of this point, however, would require a carefully controlled investigation.

Explorations of relationships between speech and personality have been undertaken in a number of investigations. Ratings on general speech effectiveness have been found to have low but significant correlations with standardized personality tests, particularly with those which measure social adjustment and social dominance.[20,21,22] Special tests, inventories, and reports, developed for diagnosis and measurement in speech, also yield low to moderate correlations with ratings on speech skill.[23,24,25]

The general interest in this area of research is further reflected in investigations of voice as an index of personality. In a comprehensive review, Hurd[26] listed fifteen studies, dividing them into two classes: those concerned with the relationship of voice as an unanalyzed whole with other aspects of personality, and those concerned with the relationship of specific characteristics of voice with other aspects of personality. In an investigation of the first type, Allport and Cantril[27] found that listeners could match voices with personality scores and descriptions with better than chance success. In a study of specific vocal characteristics, Moore[28] found an association between breathy and whiny voices and tendencies toward neuroticism and low dominance, and between harsh and metallic voices and high dominance scores. Hurd[29] found a number of descriptive terms significantly related to personality (Bell Social Adjustment scores): breathy, lifeless, rich, vibrant, narrow pitch span, controlled pitch, weak, monotonous force, varied force.

From the outcomes of the foregoing studies, it appears that there are relationships between voice and personality, and that some of the relationships can be analyzed in specific descriptive terms. It would be a mistake to assume, however, that these investigations give any substantial support to the popular pastime of estimating personality on the basis of vocal behavior. Such external cues may be important in particular cases, but many chance elements affect the relationship and the correlations between vocal clues and personality are too low to permit confident prediction of the latter in terms of the former. Nevertheless, listeners do react to speakers as though the voice were a dependable index of individuality. Hurd found a rather high order of agreement (.82 to .87) between student judges in rating social adjustment, confidence, and vitality, and that these ratings correlated .69 to .82 with ratings on voice (quality, pitch, force, and rate).

There are a number of other areas of research concerned with the discovery of the correlates of speech behavior and skill. Studies carried out by Gray and colleagues[30] have shown little or no relation between peripheral measures of breathing and speech characteristics and skill, although a fluoroscopic study by

[20] Clyde W. Dow, "The Personality Traits of Effective Public Speakers," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XXVII (December, 1941), 525-532.

[21] Franklin Knower, "Psychological Tests in Public Speaking," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XV (April, 1920), 217-222.

[22] Howard Gilkinson and Franklin Knower, "A Study of Standardized Personality Tests and Skill in Speech," *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, XXXII (March, 1941), 161-175.

[23] Franklin Knower, "A Study of Speech Attitudes and Adjustments," *Speech Monographs*, V (1938), 130-203.

[24] Lawrence W. Miller and Elwood Murray, *Personal-Social Adjustment Test* (Denver, University of Denver Bookstore).

[25] Howard Gilkinson, "Social Fears as Reported by Students in College Speech Classes," *Speech Monographs*, IX (1942), 141-160.

[26] Melba Hurd, A Study of the Relationships Between Voice and Personality Among Students of Speech (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1942).

[27] Gordon W. Allport and Hadley Cantril, "Judging Personality from the Voice," *Journal of Social Psychology*, V (1934), 37-55.

[28] Wilbur E. Moore, "Personality Traits and Voice Quality Deficiencies," *Journal of Speech Disorders*, IV (1939), 33-36.

[29] Hurd, *op. cit.*

[30] Giles W. Gray, *Studies in Experimental Phonetics*, *Louisiana University Studies*, XXVII (1936).

Huyck and Allen[31] showed greater steadiness and wider excursion of diaphragmatic action for good voices than for poor voices. Intelligence test scores have been found to have low but positive correlation with speech skill.[32] Low to moderate correlations between skill in speech and skill in writing have been found,[33] also between speech skill and scores of the Seashore Measures of Musical Talent.[34]

Mention was previously made of studies concerned with the scholastic achievement of special activity groups, such as those in drama and debate.[35,36] Other group comparisons have been concerned with personality differences. The outcomes of Golden's[37] study of drama students showed a probable trend toward neuroticism, a slightly greater tendency toward extroversion, more aesthetic interests, and fewer economic and theoretical interests for drama students than for non-drama students. Tracy[38] found similar differential trends with respect to aesthetic and theoretical interests and neuroticism in comparing actors and public speakers.

General Conclusions

The foregoing gives a partial view of two major areas in a rapidly growing field of research. The most ardent enthusiast for experimental and statistical investigation would hardly claim that anything more than a beginning has been made. These and related areas of research are of necessity preoccupied with problems of measurement and methodology, and no doubt will be for some time to come. Apparently, however, some influence is beginning to be felt in relation to classroom teaching, program planning, and educational administration in general speech. This is reflected in the increasing number of direct references to experimental studies in recent textbooks. Theories of breathing and speech are being handled with greater caution and qualification. The practical implications of relationships between personality and voice and speech are being explored. Despite low correlations, test and questionnaire materials are being put to practical use in a number of institutions.[39]

Perhaps the evaluative studies are of interest to the greatest number of teachers, since they undertake to state in terms of some type of objective criterion the amount of educational gain derived by the student from taking a formal course in speech. Most of these studies have produced positive results, i.e., *statistically* significant group gains are noted. This means only that changes in criterion measures occur which cannot be accounted for in terms of chance; the *educational* significance of these changes is a matter of interpretation.

The evidence as it stands is wholly consistent with the theory that favorable changes in speech behavior and social attitudes occur as a result of formal speech instruction. On the other hand, this general conclusion is limited and qualified by a number of other facts which emerge from the evaluative studies. Although the scores of a majority of students indicate gains, there is a sizable number (as high as 20% in some studies) who show little or no improvement. A

[31] E. M. Huyck and K. D. A. Allen, "Diaphragmatic Action of Good and Poor Speaking Voices," *Speech Monographs*, IV (1937), 101-109.

[32] Eckert and Keys, *op. cit.*

[33] Guy S. Greene, "The Correlation Between Skill in Performances and Knowledge of Principles in a Course in Speech-Making," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XXV (1941), 232-242.

[34] Andrew T. Weaver, "Experimental Studies of Vocal Expression," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, X (June, 1924), 199-204.

[35] Dietrich, *op. cit.*

[36] Segal and Proffitt, *op. cit.*

[37] Alfred L. Golden, "Personality Traits of Drama School Students," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XXVI (December, 1940), 564-575.

[38] J. A. Tracy, "A Study of the Personality Traits of Mature Actors and Mature Public Speakers," *Speech Monographs*, II (1935), 53-56.

[39] Elbert R. Moses, "A Survey of Speech Tests in Thirty American Universities and Colleges," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XXVIII (April, 1942), 206-211.

profitable attack on this problem can be made through direct comparisons of the students who do not improve with those who do improve. A beginning in this type of research has been made by Moore.[40] Another interesting fact is the moderate to high correlation which exists between initial and final scores in improvement studies. This means, of course, that despite group gains, there is a fairly pronounced tendency for the individual student to retain the same relative status throughout the period of instruction; at the conclusion of the course the good speakers have retained their relative superiority and the poor speakers are still relatively unskillful. It may be said, of course, that the student's relative status is of less importance than his ability to function in certain social situations and that students at all levels of skill gain in that respect. However, correlation between initial and final scores does help to describe the learning process; it serves to emphasize the relative character of speech skill and the necessity of defining improvement in terms of some point of reference. Other qualifications and limitations attached to general conclusions about speech improvement arise from the fact that the experimental data have been gathered at the beginning and end of training periods, and no evidence is provided as to the permanence of the gains made by the student nor as to the function of acquired habits outside the classroom.

None of the foregoing considerations invalidates the existing evidence of improvement in adult speech classes, but they do indicate the need for discriminating appraisal of the evidence and the need for further research. In addition to the general evaluative studies, there have been some experimental comparisons of classroom teaching methods. Although this program is too new and limited in scope to permit many definite conclusions, one general trend at least may be noted. The most successful teaching seems to be done in those classes in which the teacher makes a direct attack upon the specific problems of the individual student. This conclusion is not new or startling, but it is important, for it indicates strongly that maximum speech improvement is not likely to occur as an incidental and indirect outcome of a high school or college curriculum which makes no specific provision for speech training.[41]

[40] Wilbur E. Moore, "Factors Related to Achievement and Improvement in Public Speaking," QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, XXIX (April, 1943), 213-217.

[41] A further discussion of research in general speech will appear in a later issue of the JOURNAL. ED.

EDITORIAL

THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY NUMBER

This is the Thirtieth Anniversary of the JOURNAL. As it happened, the first number came from the press, not in February, 1915, but in April, and only three issues appeared that year; so, although April marks the anniversary month, this becomes the anniversary number.

April of 1915 was a month of crisis in world affairs. The first winter of World War I had passed, and spring had come "with rustling shade." On the Eastern Front the Germans that month unleashed the attack that was later to knock Russia out of the war, lead to the downfall of its Czar, and permit the communists to come into power. On the Western Front that month a northeast wind loosed for the first time a greenish gas that rolled over the Allied trenches before Dunkirk, asphyxiated its defenders along a front of four miles, and almost anticipated the Dunkirk of 1940. In the New York harbor that month the Lusitania loaded its last cargo and made ready to take aboard 783 ill-fated passengers on their Final Voyage.

In April of 1915, therefore, the appearance of a new magazine, the QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF PUBLIC SPEAKING, with 172 subscribers, was not heralded by headlines or announced by the Associated Press. It was an event of postponed significance.

That first number made no attempt at evangelism. There was nothing of the arrogance of Garrison's "I will be heard," nothing even to call attention to its being a new magazine except the careful annotation on the cover, "Volume I, Number 1." But tucked away modestly on page 51 was an article by J. M. O'Neill, first Editor and first President of the ASSOCIATION, announcing that, "The National Association of Academic Teachers of Public Speaking is at last a reality," and stating that at a meeting in Chicago on November 28, 1914, the following persons had "registered as charter members":

I. M. Cochrane, *Carleton*
Loren Gates, *Miami*
J. S. Gaylord, *Winona Normal*
H. B. Gislason, *Minnesota*
H. B. Gough, *DePauw*
Binney Gunnison, *Lombard*
C. D. Hardy, *Northwestern*
J. L. Lardner, *Northwestern*
G. N. Merry, *Iowa*
J. M. O'Neill, *Wisconsin*
J. M. Phelps, *Illinois*
F. M. Rarig, *Minnesota*
L. R. Sarett, *Illinois*
B. C. Van Wye, *Cincinnati*
J. A. Winans, *Cornell*
I. L. Winter, *Harvard*
C. H. Woolbert, *Illinois*

The four objectives of the new organization, also listed, are worth reading again after nearly thirty years:

> First, . . . to promote and encourage research work in various parts of the field of public speaking. . . .
>
> . . . Second, . . . to publish the QUARTERLY JOURNAL. . . . We intend that it shall be the organ of the teachers of public speaking throughout the country, and as such shall contain reviews, articles, discussions, and news items of vital interest. . . . In short we propose a national organ owned and controlled by the public-speaking teachers of the whole country. . . .
>
> . . . Third, . . . to assist in every possible

way the organization and activity of local or sectional associations and conferences. We wish to serve as a medium of co-operation and co-ordination. . . ."

Finally, it may be well to state, what we trust would be taken for granted anyway, that in this movement there is no desire for seclusion and aloofness. It is for the purpose of making ourselves better members of the educational family, more able to co-operate with other departments, and more capable of performing our part of the work of education, that we are taking these steps. . . .

Support was given to the first of these objectives—on research—in an article by James A. Winans, who was to be elected that year as the second President of the ASSOCIATION:

We complain of prejudice and unjust discrimination, and we have grounds; but we had best face the truth. In the long run men pass for what they are. We have lacked scientific foundation for our special work. . . .

I am talking to my own kind now. I have no great humility before teachers in other lines. Toward them we bristle with defiance. But that is just the trouble—we do bristle. We are not yet able to take ourselves for granted. We shall feel better and do better when we can. . . . We shall not only stand better but teach better, when we have more scholarship. . . .

Probably we shall do foolish things at first, as others have. We should begin humbly and grow. . . .

Professor Winans reminded the teachers of 1915 that, "We are split up into all sorts of schools of belief," that "some have stood for imitation, some for systems of rules, or other systems; and many have thrown all systems away and preached the one magic word, 'Think,' without much consideration of what thinking involves. . . . To a certain extent that is desirable, but we fail to agree on the most fundamental matters. . . . We must have the services of investigators."

In the years since we have had the services of investigators; and we have almost ceased to debate whether "imitation," "systems of rules," or "think the thought" is best. Instead, for two decades we debated the rise and fall of Behaviorism, of Hormic and Gestalt Psychology. Now, in the third decade, it is General Semantics. The fourth decade begins next year. We are ready and waiting to choose sides when the next fashion of thought appears. We still fail to agree on many, if not most, of the fundamental matters.

But we have made progress through disagreement, and to some extent because of it. Since 1915 we have matured from "public speaking" into "speech"—in a real sense, and not only in name. We have extended the horizons of learning in speech pathology and correction, speech psychology, voice science, phonetics (both descriptive and experimental), interpretation, theatre, drama, and discussion and public address as instruments of power on the flow of history.

There still are weak departments in specific institutions, and whole regions are more backward than they ought to be; but taken as a whole, if departments of speech were dropped from every educational institution in America, education would suffer a loss so acute that only time and rebuilding could relieve it.

This is our accomplishment of thirty years.

THE FORUM

TO THE EDITOR:

It would be unfortunate for readers of the QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH to get the impression that Bishop Wilkins' table of speech sounds was as badly put together as the reproduction on p. 338 of the October, 1943, number might lead one to think. The following notes are based on the table as it appears in my copy of the *Essay*, which, although also of 1668, may contain corrections not shown in the copy from which the reproduction was made; as might be evidenced by the fact that lower-case type is used for some consonant symbols where the usual practice is capitals.

Disregarding minor details, these discrepancies may be noted: The table is headed "Letters [not *sounds*] may be considered according to," and the subordinate headings are: "The organs by which they are framed, whether" and "Their Natures." It is the "Root," not *roof*, of the Tongue, and "Root of the Teeth." Opposite the "One Lip," etc., label, the first four columns are appropriately filled in: "p," "B," "mh," and "m." The symbol in the top square of the "Of a middle nature—Sonorous" column is a large "Y" with an extra tag at the bottom, which Wilkins elsewhere identifies as a Welsh character; the symbol below is a Greek iota, not *j*; the one below that is the character used in contemporary Greek texts for Greek *ou*, lower-case size. In the third column of vowels, the square on a line with "e" and "a" is filled in with a Greek alpha. It hardly needs mentioning except in justice to the typesetter's neatness, that "Ngh" and "Ng" are on the same level with other "Inmost palate" symbols and well spaced within the column lines; that headings are well centered over the appropriate columns; that what appear in the reproduction as two blank columns are really double lines separating columns; that the horizontal division lines do not run out of the table; and that the three empty squares in the lower right-hand corner are not there.

With reference to the quotation on p. 340 of the JOURNAL, how Wilkins got "34 letters" is not apparent either from the full table or the reproduction; actually he did not include the three "Middle nature—Mute" symbols in another listing of the letters immediately preceding the quoted paragraph. Incidentally my copy does not show Wilkins to have been eccentric in the spelling of *sounds* or *principal*, whereas it does show some other differences from the paragraph as reproduced (besides the use of long *s*, not *f*).

It is to be hoped that some curious and energetic young phonetician will explore Wilkins further and report at length in the JOURNAL.

LEE S. HULZÉN

RADIO REVIEW FOR 1943

KENNETH G. BARTLETT, *Reviewer*
Syracuse University

AMERICA'S RADIO NEWS ANALYSTS

THE speakers who have the largest audiences these days are our news analysts. In fifteen minutes it is possible that they speak to more people than Russell Conwell did in a life-time. Few would deny that they have a strong influence on the composition of our public opinion. Yet, oddly enough, few listeners seem to take the trouble to ask for their background and training. With this in mind the JOURNAL's request for a review of current network programs will this year be confined to a thumb-nail sketch of those men who from week to week analyze and broadcast war news.[1]

EDWARD R. MURROW is CBS's European news chief. Born in 1904 in North Carolina, he attended Stanford, University of Washington, and Washington State. Immediately following his graduation he became president of the National Student Federation, a job that took him on several trips abroad and necessitated his visiting 300 American colleges and universities. In 1932, he became assistant director of the Institute of International Education. CBS in 1935, made him Director of Talks, from which position he became European news-chief in 1937. Murrow's early duties were primarily to arrange broadcasts. Then came the Anschluss and the Munich crisis, and Murrow emerged as a reporter and news analyst. He employed William L. Shirer and other newspaper luminaries for Columbia's continental staff and handled most of the London broadcasting himself. Twice he was bombed out of his offices; once a bomb dropped on the building from which he was broadcasting. In 1941 he published his collected broadcasts under the title, *This is London*. In collaboration with Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, he was coauthor of the book, *Channels of International Cooperation*. Murrow is conservative, sound, and never given to oratorical gymnastics.

H. V. KALTENBORN was the first to cover a battle by radio, that being the attack on Irun in Spain. A veteran newspaper man, he first worked as a reporter for the *Merrill* (Wisconsin) *Advocate*. In 1902 he joined the staff of the *Brooklyn Eagle*. Five years later he went to Berlin as secretary of the Harvard Professional Exchange, and later traveled through Europe, the West Indies and South America. With this background he entered radio and broadcast interviews with Mussolini, Gandhi, Hitler, and Chiang Kai-shek. He is one of the pioneer newsmen in radio, and is one of the few foreigners ever to speak over the Moscow radio. He is one of our most vigorous and independent commentators.

RAYMOND GRAM SWING is a veteran

[1] To simplify the problem of presentation, no distinction has been drawn between "analysts" and "commentators." CBS has announced that all their staff employees confine themselves to "analysis." H. V. Kaltenborn, speaking for the newsmen declared it was a distinction without a difference and couldn't be done even if there was a difference. Neither has a distinction been drawn between field correspondents, and those who analyze the news from continental United States.

with twenty-one years' experience as a foreign correspondent. As Berlin correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, Swing covered the events in Germany leading up to the outbreak of the First World War. He later served as London Bureau Chief of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, and the *New York Evening Post*. He has a background of twelve years as a radio commentator on public affairs, and for a number of years has been heard regularly by British listeners in weekly broadcasts arranged by the British Broadcasting Corporation. Labeled by a weekly magazine as the possessor of "radio's best bed-side manner" he is not only one of the most respected, but one of the most significant of American commentators.

James G. McDonald is a native of Ohio. He did undergraduate work in Indiana University and graduate work at Harvard; holds honorary degrees from Tufts, Hebrew Union College and Rutgers. After several years as a member of the history faculty at Harvard, Radcliffe, and Indiana Universities, he became chairman of the board of the Foreign Policy Association; from 1933 to 1935 he was High Commissioner for Refugees for the League of Nations. He was later a member of the editorial staff of the *New York Times*, a member of the Board of Education of New York City, and is now President of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. While he probably does not have the following some of the other commentators have, he has a world outlook that sometimes seems to make his commentaries more significant than they are entertaining.

Major George Fielding Eliot is strictly a military analyst. Born in 1894 in Brooklyn, New York, his family moved to Australia when he was eight. He attended Trinity College, University of Melbourne, and served throughout First World War with Australian Forces, entering as second lieutenant, and emerging as acting major of infantry. He fought in Dardanelles campaign, and on the Western Front. After arrival in United States in 1922, he became a second lieutenant of engineers in Missouri National Guard and later served in U. S. Army Officers Reserve Corps, Military Intelligence, for eight years. With perhaps the exception of Hanson Baldwin, he is the best known military analyst in America.

William L. Shirer was born in 1904, graduated from Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. With no job in sight, Shirer borrowed $200, sailed for Europe via Montreal on a cattleboat. With funds down to $10, he landed a job in the Paris office of the *Chicago Tribune*. He covered several European capitals, went to Afghanistan and India in 1930-31 and became a friend of Mahatma Gandhi. In 1932, he quit newspaper work for a year's free-lance writing on the Catalan coast of Spain. In 1933, he joined Universal Service in Berlin, eventually becoming its chief Berlin correspondent. Four years later this tall, mild-mannered, round-faced correspondent went to work for CBS, just in time for the unfolding of Hitler's conquests. A notable Shirer broadcast was made from the forest of Compiègne, as France signed her armistice with the Nazis. Returning to New York early in 1941, he finished *Berlin Diary*, the account of his experiences that was to sell more than 500,000 copies.

Hanson W. Baldwin was graduated from the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1924 and served in the Navy until 1927. During the next two years he was reporter on the *Baltimore Sun*, and in 1929 joined the staff of the *New York Times* as correspondent on military and naval affairs. He is a Blue Network commentator, and with Fielding Eliot, one

of our most significant military analysts.

CECIL BROWN, born in 1907, attended Western Reserve and Ohio State universities, graduating in 1929. He stowed away on a boat to South America and later sailed as seaman to Russia and Africa before going to West Coast for United Press. He later went to Europe as a free-lance writer, then took a CBS post in Rome from which he was expelled by the Fascists, later covering the Nazi invasion of Greece and Yugoslavia. He was transferred to Singapore where he had great difficulty with British censors. He was aboard the British warship, "Repulse" which, with the "Prince of Wales," was sunk by Japanese in the South China Sea and the graphic story of his rescue, later told over CBS, won world-wide commendation. Author of the best seller, *Suez to Singapore,* he recently resigned from CBS when Paul White instituted a policy of "analysis" instead of "interpretation and comment." When broadcasting he often sounds bitter, but is one of the most outspoken men on the air.

JOHN GUNTHER began his writing career as a feature writer on the staff of the *Chicago Daily News,* after his graduation from the University of Chicago. After two years with the *News,* he became representative of the United Press in London. Later, he served as European correspondent for the *Chicago Daily News,* and during the next ten years worked as a correspondent in every European country except Portugal. He is the author of the widely read books, *Inside Europe, Inside Asia,* and *Inside Latin America.* He is a good story teller and his broadcasts usually carry plenty of human interest material.

JOHN W. VANDERCOOK came by his writing talents naturally. His father was the first president of the United Press and his mother authored many books for girls. His experience as an actor made him a radio natural after he received journalistic experience on the *Columbus Citizen, Washington News* and *Baltimore Post.* Since 1925 he has lived in 73 countries. He is now stationed in New York and emcees the "News of the World" program. Maybe that's the reason why regardless of what country he may be discussing in a radio broadcast, he can usually lend a personal touch because he has probably been there.

LOUIS P. LOCHNER, who does most of his broadcasting from the Pacific Coast, spent six months in a German internment camp shortly after the United States entered the war. He joined the AP staff in Berlin in 1924 and four years later was named bureau chief. Some of his world news beats include an interview with General von Hindenburg in 1925, the first authentic story of Marshal Pilsudski's 1926 coup in Warsaw, the dirigible "Hindenburg's" first flight to the United States, interviews with the Kaiser and an exclusive interview with Hitler in 1932. He won the Pulitzer Prize for distinguished service as a correspondent in 1939 and is author of the best-seller *What About Germany.* He and Shirer are perhaps the most authoritive men now broadcasting on Germany.

ROBERT ST. JOHN, famed for his human interest stories, came to radio with 20 years of newspaper experience. He was in France at the end of the First World War, and with his brother returned to this country to publish a small chain of papers in the Middle West. He served as managing editor of a paper in Rutland, Vermont; and was an editor on the *Philadelphia Record* and on the staffs of the *Chicago Daily News* and *Hartford Courant.* He went abroad from 1939 to 1942 and saw the partition of Rumania,

the abdication of King Carol, the two Iron Guard revolutions, the fall of Yugoslavia, Greece and Crete. He joined NBC's staff in London, and in addition to reporting the war, worked a full-time shift in a war factory! As a result of being machine-gunned in Greece he still carries a bullet in his left leg. Robert St. John and John Gunther are possibly our two most interesting story tellers—radio's nearest competitors to the newspaper-famed correspondent, Ernie Pyle.

EARL GODWIN began his newspaper career as a reporter for the *Passaic* (New Jersey) *Herald;* then joined the staff of the *Baltimore Sun;* and later covered Congress for the *Washington Star,* acting at the same time as correspondent for the *New York World* and the *New York Times,* as well as a number of foreign publications. During the First World War, he served in the Army, and at the close of the conflict, became associate editor of the *Washington Times.* His present series on the Blue Network rounds out nearly thirty years as a Washington reporter. He is one of the most natural speakers on the air today.

MERRILL MUELLER, now covering the war in Italy, has been called the "most blitzed reporter of World War II." The NBC reporter went through 700 air raids in London, 72 in Malta and countless others in North Africa and Italy. During the raid on Medenine, in Tunisia, he suffered an ear injury and was awarded the Order of the Purple Heart. He was attached to London's Newsweek staff before coming to NBC. When Pearl Harbor was attacked, Mueller was on a British destroyer bound for Gibralter. He went on to Malta and the Middle East and joined the British on their sweep across Libya. He arrived in Singapore shortly before the Japs and just managed to escape to Australia. He is more of a field correspondent than an analysist and possibly should not be included in this list.

QUINCY HOWE was graduated from Harvard in 1921 and went abroad, visiting most of the countries of Europe. He studied at Christ College, Cambridge, and on his return to the United States worked in the editorial department of *The Living Age.* In 1926 he made a second trip to Europe and when he came back was named managing editor of *The Living Age,* a post he retained until the summer of 1935, when he went with the publishing firm of Simon and Schuster as head of the editorial department. Howe worked with numerous noted authors and wrote several books, including *World Diary: 1929-1934* and *The News and How to Understand It.* He has lectured extensively on world affairs. Howe first went on the radio as a guest speaker on current affairs in 1938 and was promptly engaged to pinch-hit for a news analyst on WQXR, New York City. His extemporaneous analyses of news at the outbreak of the war won wide commendation. Howe is president of the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures and secretary-treasurer of the Association of Radio News Analysts. He sounds like a New Englander, which he is!

JOHN MACVANE has been one of NBC's front line reporters since the United States entered the war. A graduate of Williams College and Oxford University, he became ship news reporter for the *Brooklyn Eagle* in 1935, later joined the staff of the *New York Sun.* Shortly after he joined the NBC staff of foreign correspondents in London he accompanied United States troops on the Dieppe raid and was the only radio reporter to take part in that action. He covered the African invasion from the time of the Algiers landing until the end of the cam-

paign and was the first to break the news of Darlan's assassination. His recently published book *Journey Into War* gives ample proof of his insight into the political situation in North Africa.

H. R. BAUKHAGE has a background that includes World War experience as a lieutenant of field artillery, graduation from the Saumur Artillery School in France, a tour of duty with the U. S. Intelligence Service, newspaper work in Europe and the United States with the Associated Press, seven years' experience as a commentator with the National Broadcasting Company, and a daily news commentary with the Blue Network, since the network was organized in February, 1942. His programs usually begin with the terse phrase "Baukhage Talking."

WILLIAM HILLMAN, a graduate of Columbia University, is swarthy and stout. After the First World War, he entered the field of journalism and became European representative of the King Features Syndicate, and later general European manager of International News Service. Following that experience, he became European manager of *Collier's*, and is currently on leave of absence from his post with that publication to serve in a voluntary capacity with the Board of Economic Warfare in Washington.

LOWELL THOMAS' background includes extensive travel in remote parts of the world and experience as a member of the faculties of four universities. He worked as a reporter and cameraman during the First World War and had the distinction of being the first reporter to bring back a comprehensive eye-witness account of the German revolution. He is the author of numerous books, a radio commentator of long standing, narrator for numerous motion picture newsreels, and a lecturer who has probably appeared on the public platform more frequently than any other American.

ERIC SEVAREID is 32 years old. He studied political science at University of Minnesota and attended graduate school. He went abroad for further study at University of London and the Sorbonne in Paris. Getting a job with United Press in Paris, he became night editor and later transferred to the *Paris Herald* as city editor. Joining CBS just before outbreak of war, he remained in Paris, except for trips to the Maginot line and the fighting front, until the French Government's evacuation. He left Paris just ahead of the first German troops and, for several hours, was the only contact between the outside world and the emergency government headquarters in Bordeaux. Later went to Vichy, worked for CBS in London for a time, returned to the United States in October, 1940. For a time he was stationed in Washington, but was later assigned to the Far East. Over Burma the plane crashed and all the members of the party, except one, were brought out of the head-hunter country with the aid of the British and the natives. He is now back in the United States.

BOB TROUT became a news analyst after an interesting time as a special events broadcaster for CBS. Born in 1908, Trout's original ambition was a writing career. Disciple of Jim Tully, he roamed the country; worked in a gas station, drove a taxi, shipped on a steamer, and later took up quarters in a Greenwich Village attic. He started radio work in 1931 as script writer and general pinch-hit man at station WJSV, Alexandria, Virginia, then an independent station. The starting salary was nothing per week. One day when the news broadcaster failed to show up, Trout picked up a

newspaper and read items from it for five minutes. He had mike fright, but says that it lent depth and dignity to his voice! When WJSV joined the Columbia network and was moved to Washington, D.C., Bob Trout went with it, a seasoned news and special events reporter. He covered all important White House events and won a reputation for smooth ad libbing as Presidential announcer. He also became a specialist in stunt broadcasts. Assigned to New York in 1935, he has broadcast the Kentucky Derby and six political conventions, covered fleet maneuvers in Atlantic and Pacific. Trout's hobby is his boat—the 50 foot schooner, "Water Witch," which won the Miami-Nassau race in 1936. He reads voraciously, writes all his own broadcasts, and so that part of his early ambition has been realized.

JOHN B. KENNEDY became one of radio's early star newscasters after an outstanding career as reporter, foreign correspondent, magazine writer and editor. He left St. Louis University to become a reporter in that city, subsequently worked on newspapers in Chicago, Canada and New York. He joined *Collier's* in 1924 and left as managing editor of that magazine to direct the *Collier's* hour in 1934. He is probably best known for his work in newsreels.

CHARLES COLLINGWOOD is now with the American forces in North Africa. He graduated from Cornell University, and later worked briefly with the United States Forest Service. At the outbreak of hostilities in '39, he went to England where he joined United Press staff. That fall he took up a Rhodes Scholarship he had won to Oxford. Last year he was awarded the Peabody prize for excellent reporting from the African theatre. He is one of the youngest reporters on the air.

WINSTON M. BURDETT went through Harvard in three years, graduating magna cum laude at nineteen. A specialist in Romance languages, he took postgraduate work in Italian at Columbia. His first job was on the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, where he worked six years. The paper assigned him to Sweden in February, 1940, on a roving assignment. Transradio-Press made him head of its Scandinavian staff. He also reported from that trouble zone for the Columbia Broadcasting System, broadcasting from Stockholm. Subsequently he was transfered to Ankara, later to India, and finally to Cairo.

JOHN DALY is Columbia's erstwhile "Presidential announcer." Born in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 1914, he attended Boston College and had a year with Peabody Players in Boston. He joined WJSV in 1937. Daly has traveled more than 150,000 miles since, accompanying President Roosevelt for CBS broadcasts of his addresses and covered 30,000 miles on the Willkie campaign tour. As expert war games reporter, Daly has described military maneuvers since 1939, taking the microphone into bombers, pursuit planes and tanks and aboard destroyers.

Of the twenty-five men studied, 21 had a college or university education; 20 had newspaper experience before handling news on the networks; 23 had the experience of foreign travel; 13 were under 40 years of age, with the majority between 30 and 40.

If our news analysts in the future are to be chosen on the same basis as those just described, the speech teacher should recommend to those who want to learn to handle radio news (1) college education, (2) foreign travel, (3) newspaper training, (4) getting started early, and (5) experience with broadcasting stations.

NEW BOOKS

LOREN D. REID, *Editor*

Francis Bacon on Communication and Rhetoric. By KARL R. WALLACE. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1943; pp. ix + 277. $5.00.

Professor Wallace's inquiries into the nature of the Baconian rhetorical system are already familiar to most of the members of our profession. During the past eight years, no fewer than four substantial contributions to an understanding of Bacon's rhetoric and of Tudor education have appeared under his name in journals and monographs devoted to the field of speech. It is particularly gratifying, however, to find within the compass of a single volume the more detailed investigative studies upon which the shorter papers were largely based. In a carefully assembled and attractively bound volume the University of North Carolina Press offers Professor Wallace's intensive study of Bacon's conception of communication and rhetoric, and thus makes readily accessible a theory of speechcraft which, because of its complex philosophical implications, might otherwise not receive as much consideration as its importance warrants.

The task of assembling Bacon's thoughts on communication and rhetoric, and then of weaving them into an orderly whole, is a difficult one. But Professor Wallace has done the job admirably well. Indicating that many of Bacon's works, essays, and speeches furnish collateral evidence for the study, he nevertheless considers the "view of communication outlined in the *Advancement* and the *De augmentis* as the *sine qua non*. . . ." "It is manifest," Professor Wallace goes on to report, "that Bacon's works do not present a systematic exposition of rhetorical theory; and in trying to present an ordered picture one must select what appears to be the proper point of emphasis, and must arrange relevantly about it a background that shows some balance, harmony, and perspective. Doubtless the result will exhibit closer kinship to a line-drawing than to an oil canvas resplendent with color and detail."

Bacon's theory of communication is discussed briefly, whereas his theory of rhetoric is examined and appraised at considerable length—with separate chapters on Bacon's ideas on invention, logical proof, ethical and pathetic proof, structure of rhetorical composition, style, memory, and delivery. In both phases of the study Professor Wallace reveals and interprets the data against the background of Bacon's larger conception of the field of learning. And he shows how the faculty psychology, so dominant in Bacon's analysis of the province of knowledge, also influenced the theory of rhetoric. Bacon's definition of rhetoric attests to this; for, said he, it is the duty and the office of rhetoric "to apply Reason to Imagination for the better moving of the will."

Although Professor Wallace does not elect to determine Bacon's indebtedness to other rhetoricians, he does show how Bacon's speculations relate to those of other systems. Particularly, he concludes, through careful analysis, that Bacon's theory "seems to be partly Aristotelian, partly Platonic." Furthermore, the evidence suggests a certain reliance upon Cicero; and it is highly probable that Bacon was familiar with the usual rhetorical knowledge of the Tudor period.

Professor Wallace indicates that in only a few instances is the mark of Bacon's influence on later rhetorical theorists distinct. However, he concludes that Bacon made certain genuine contributions to the theory of speaking. For Bacon, communication was "at bottom an intellectual activity"; and by "centering his attention almost exclusively upon the invention of ideas and arguments, he has . . . emphasized the importance of content and rational argument in literary and oratorical composition." Furthermore, he conceived of rhetoric in functional terms, recognizing throughout that audiences determine the nature of communication. And finally—to mention only a few of the contributions—Bacon's idea of the relation of ethical and pathetic proof to the total process of persuasion was socially sound. In his way of thinking, the end of rhetoric was the influencing of *right* action. He believed that rhetoric carried "the social obligation of helping reason to prevail over passion, or establishing, on the level of popular knowledge, the just and good cause." Professor Wallace points out that the view that rhet-

oric, as well as logic and ethics, is to serve the end of "right reason and good conduct is traditional"; but "the idea that rhetoric makes peculiar use of serious imaginative activity is perhaps the most novel of Bacon's thoughts on public address."

The volume contains a good index and a particularly useful bibliography of books on rhetorical theory published from 1500 to 1700. *Francis Bacon on Communication and Rhetoric* is an important addition to the literature of our subject. It deserves a prominent place in the library of every serious student of rhetoric.

LESTER THONSSEN,
College of the City of New York

Writing and Speaking: A Basic Course in Communication. By ARGUS TRESIDDER, LELAND SCHUBERT and CHARLES W. JONES. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1943; pp. vii + 461. $2.50.

Developing Ideas into Essays and Speeches. TARBELL OLIVER. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1943; pp. ix + 160. By HARRY WOLCOTT ROBINS and ROBERT $1.75.

It has been the practice of a large number of schools and colleges in this country to separate the teaching of speaking and writing as if the two skills were governed by entirely different principles and techniques. Some educators in both fields have felt, however, that in such separation many values of each subject have been lost. They have felt that since many of the same principles are common to both writing and speaking, much of lasting educational value may be gained by combining these two subjects in one course under the heading of communication. In accordance with this belief, a number of colleges have in the past few years instituted such combined courses which correlate speaking and writing, which stress the principles common to each technique and give due attention to those which are peculiar to each. Impetus to this trend has undoubtedly been given by the Army and Navy curricula which combine speech and composition in one course. Some of the textbooks for military courses correlate the principles of writing and speaking with considerable success.

The two books which are the subject of this review are both designed primarily as textbooks in such combined courses. They both stress the principles of communication used in common by writer and speaker, with separate discussions of those matters of technique not common to both. The two books differ sharply, however, in their fundamental points of view: *Writing and Speaking* stresses form and technique, although the relation of form to thinking is given due attention; *Developing Ideas* stresses substance rather than form with more emphasis upon *what to say* than upon how to say it. Each of these books is excellent when judged in the light of the point of view from which it is written.

Writing and Speaking, subtitled *A Basic Course in Communication,* incorporates the experience of the authors as developed in the interdepartmental course in Cornell University. It is designed "to teach the student (1) to say and write what he means concisely and with a purpose and (2) to read and listen with precise understanding and discrimination." The book carries out its purpose effectively. It is a complete and comprehensive text covering all the fundamental phases of writing and speaking.

Wherever possible the authors have correlated closely the principles underlying both written and oral composition. Thus such matters as general organization, interest, unity, coherence and language which are common to both skills are treated together and the application made to both writing and speaking. The discussion of these fundamental principles comprises Part I of the book. Part II considers the differences between writing and speaking and the special problems of both. Although the discussion of form and technique is the chief burden of each of the chapters, the student is being constantly reminded that there can be no clearness of expression without clearness of thinking. The emphasis is upon accuracy of expression rather than upon rules of grammar.

The book is clearly and interestingly written, with an abundance of pertinent illustrations and exercises. Criticism charts for both writing and speaking are included to make the task of student and teacher easier. The Appendix contains a lexicon of grammatical terms and a thorough analysis of a student speech. All in all, *Writing and Speaking* is a very thorough and comprehensive English-speech textbook.

In *Developing Ideas* the emphasis is primarily upon *what to say.* It is the view of the authors that a student's mastery of ideas is so interrelated with his mastery of form that concentration upon the ideas must neces-

sarily affect favorably his ability to say well what is in his mind. Clear thinking, they hold, must inevitably influence clear expression.

In general this book considers the ideas, the subject matter of the speech or composition and the organizational development of the ideas. As there is no discussion of the mechanics of writing such as sentence structure or punctuation and no discussion of the techniques of speaking, the book, if used in a basic course, would have to be supplemented by a handbook of composition and a textbook on speech delivery. Indeed, it is so designed by the authors for, as they say, it is to "do for the students what is now customarily done in conference."

Developing Ideas is organized into three parts: (I) Getting the Ideas, (II) Steps in Developing Ideas, and (III) The Final Form. Part I is mainly concerned with finding the ideas which will serve as the starting point for creative production and with the critical testing of those ideas. Part II discusses the gathering of materials and the organization of the ideas into a speech or composition. In Part III one chapter is given to the essay and one to the speech. Each chapter of the book is followed by one speech and one essay to illustrate the principles of the chapter.

It seems to this reviewer that the approach suggested in this book is an eminently sane one. Too often our courses in both composition and speech are concerned primarily with mechanics and techniques without regard to whether a student has anything to say or not or whether he has thought critically through his topic. If this book, especially the chapters on finding and testing ideas, were required reading for every student of speech or writing, some of the superficial thinking encountered in our classes might be discouraged.

When one examines these two books together—the one a comprehensive treatment of the principles of writing and speaking, and the other a thorough discussion of the finding and development of ideas—he sees how well they complement each other in meeting the needs of a combined English-speech course. They might well be used together as texts for such a basic course.

CHARLES A. FRITZ, *New York University*

Speech: A High School Course. By LEW SARETT, WILLIAM TRUFANT FOSTER and JAMES H. MCBURNEY. Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943; pp. iv + 490. $1.84.

Following a preface wisely disguised as Chapter I, the writers treat their subject under four general heads: "Part I: First Principles," in which conversation is shown to be the basic pattern of effective speech; "Part II: Speech Composition," in which the discovery, the arrangement and the development of ideas for speeches are explained; "Part III: Public Speech," in which the various forms taken by public address are described; and "Part IV: Interpretative Speech," in which a chapter is given to each of the following topics: "How to Grasp the Meaning of the Printed Page"; "How to Develop Good Expression"; "Types of Interpretative Speech"; "Choric Speech"; "Dramatics"; and "Speaking Over the Radio."

An appendix suggests subjects for speeches, propositions for debate, exercises for discussion and a list of modern plays for high school groups. The exercises provided are notable for their freshness and generally for their good sense. Included in the selections for student use are old favorites like Poe's "The Bells" and Shelley's "To A Skylark," as well as current statements like Wendell Willkie's on "Loyal Opposition" and Dixon Ryan Fox's on "Liberty." There is an adequate index of topics and another of selections. The publishers have printed the work in an attractive format, and full-page photographs have been employed effectively to illustrate the principles of speechmaking.

A book of so wide a scope as *Speech: A High School Course* is bound here and there to violate a reviewer's prejudices. I must admit deprecating the advice given to teen-age girls (p. 8) to choose as an example a favorite but unspecified actress. I think the usefulness of the instruction, "Pack your tones against your belt" (p. 91), greatly limited when given to high school boys and girls. I am dubious of the adequacy of the paragraph on speech sounds (p. 107). I should prefer questions to statements in the list of discussion exercises (p. 470). These objections, however, are trivial in comparison to the substantial merit of the book. Indeed, the only major defect of the text arises from the apparent necessity in the present state of speech instruction of encompassing too much learning in too little room. It is doubtless difficult in a year's course to do full justice to platform speaking, radio, choric speaking, interpretation and dramatics; and even the most experienced authors, like the

good teachers who will use the book, must be handicapped by so great a task.

The book exemplifies the advances made in the teaching of speech in the high schools in the past generation. The subject is speechmaking, not elocution. The emphasis is on communication, not self-expression. The purpose is persuasion, not display. The standard in pronunciation is practice, not authority. The teaching is toward effectiveness, not beauty. Speechmaking is understood and taught as a useful art necessary to all, not as a fine art to be cultivated by the few. Teachers of speech will find satisfaction in using the book, and students will take pleasure in profiting from it.

BOWER ALY, *University of Missouri*

The Lake Guns of Seneca and Cayuga and Eight Other Plays of Upstate New York. Edited by A. M. DRUMMOND and ROBERT E. GARD. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1942. $3.00.

From New York State comes a much needed play-writing impetus for all regional and community theatres in the form of a compilation of plays. The publication of *The Lake Guns of Seneca and Cayuga and Eight Other Plays of Upstate New York* is a truly significant event in the annals of American regional theatre in that it demonstrates the value of a well directed project in discovering real Americana.

The New York State Drama Project of Cornell University, realizing the wealth of folk-lore to be found in upper New York, gleaned from a hundred and fifty scripts submitted enough dramatic material to make a collection of interesting plays. Such an excellent beginning should bring additional and even greater returns from these legendary sources.

All plays in the collection have been chosen from a standpoint of variety and interest. Rural theatres throughout the country and particularly in New York will find it a veritable treasury of producing possibilities written to meet their needs.

There may be some question as to whether all of the material included in this collection should be classed as plays, since some have little plot action and tend to be no more than dialogues. But each, the reader will find, has a specific appeal of its own. *The Lake Guns,* the longest play of the collection, is deeply moving in its awe and mystery; *Let's Get On With the Marryin'* catches a merry comic spirit; while *Chenango Crone* has a melodramatic force.

Each author has manifested a deep sympathy and understanding of the people and has approached the legend with a naive awe and respect. This seems to have added an almost spiritual quality to much of the work and to have given, at the same time, a plausibility.

May other universities and communities sense the worth manifested in this collection and make soundings into the many, and as yet untouched, sources of American culture.

C. LOWELL LEES, *University of Utah*

Understanding English: An Introduction to Semantics. By F. A. PHILBRICK. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942; pp. xiv + 209. $1.50.

Speech teachers who wish to include in a basic course in public speaking, discussion, argumentation, persuasion, or interpretation a unit of work in practical semantics may find this book useful. Although its focus is the written word, applications to speech can effortlessly be made.

Its weakness is incompleteness, its virtue is conciseness. In sixteen chapters, ranging in length from six to fourteen small pages, the minimum essentials of the problem of meaning are exposed and tersely illustrated. The book must be taught, not merely consigned to a collateral reading list: its principles (especially in the chapter on definition) will require ramification; and its examples, though arresting and admirably pointed, should be supplemented by others, particularly from contemporary writing and speaking. Thirty pages of exercises are neatly designed to induce comprehension; if diligently worked through, they may suffice to interpret the text.

Basically, Philbrick is an Ogden-Richards disciple, though eclectically he borrows whatever will enhance his purpose—guiding college freshmen or superior high school students to mastery of their tools of thinking, words. The book is notable among its competitors in at least three respects:

1. Whether it purports to or not, it comprises a brief but worthy introduction to human culture. The mature intelligence and broad knowledge of its author are apparent on every page; special applications are made to mathematics, physical science, and painting in separate chapters, as well as to logic throughout. The limitations of science and

the rudiments of aesthetics are delineated with equal skill; sundry truisms are freshly phrased.

2. The treatment of the symbol triangle precludes quibbling over the vexatious question of abstractions. Words symbolize *thoughts,* avers Philbrick, not things: a symbol stands for its *reference,* which is the thought of the referent. Thus both *banana* and *justice* have equally patent references—as many and varying as there are persons and contexts—though the former refers to a tangible, the latter to an intangible. Thus conceived, words cannot be confused with their referents, for they do not "stand for" their referents; "words can have the same referent without having even approximately similar references"; when we attempt to define such a word as *democracy,* we are dealing not with what the word refers *to,* but with the reference-processes of all the human beings who have employed or now employ this symbol. In a few pages a perplexing problem is shrewdly clarified.

3. Metaphor, though regarded from other customary points of view, is most deftly revealed in the concept of vehicle as symbol for the tenor; there is an astute dissection of three poems having similar tenors but diverse vehicles. And fallacies in reasoning are here surveyed from the vantage ground of modern semantics rather than of traditional logic, as dangers inherent in metaphor. The discussion of cause-effect relationships is unfortunately abstruse.

Even though various parts of this book may be unsatisfactory to various readers, the whole of it merits consideration. Philbrick has reduced semantic concepts to simple, clear terms—no more, yet no less, effectively than Walpole, Hayakawa, and Lee.

J. CALVIN CALLAGHAN, *Lehigh University*

A History of the American Drama From the Beginning to the Civil War. By ARTHUR HOBSON QUINN. Second Edition. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1943; pp. 530. $5.00.

The justification for this new edition is the enlarged bibliography and play list. Since 1923, when the first edition appeared, a vast amount of research in American drama has been done, much of it under the direction of Professor Quinn himself. Professor Odell's monumental *Annals of the New York Stage* have appeared, the series of *America's Lost Plays* have been published, and the annals of nearly all our principal cities have either been published or nearly completed. We needed to have the play list brought up to date. In the new edition it is nearly twice as long as in the old.

The text itself is practically unchanged. A few lines have been reset to correct statements that later research has shown to have been inaccurate—as, for instance, the date of the earliest performances in the Southwest. A few additions have been made to the footnotes, and notes have been added at the end of some chapters.

For twenty years this volume has been our standard reference work on early American drama. It gives a good summary of the careers of the principal dramatists and of their plays, and traces the evolution of such characters as Jonathan the Yankee, Mose the Fireman, and Rip Van Winkle. It gives many facts, but attempts very little in the way of interpretation.

This lack of interpretation seems a far greater inadequacy now than it did twenty years ago. We are beginning to ask questions about the significance of the drama. Professor Quinn writes almost as though nothing existed outside the theatre. The short sections on theatricals in Constance Rourke's *The Roots of American Culture* give a better indication of the meaning of the theatre in national life than all the pages of this history. In other directions, we need a better account of the relation of the drama to the literary and social currents of the time than Professor Quinn attempts. Although he makes many references to the taste or the standards "of the time," he makes little attempt to explain how the taste of one decade differed from that of another, or even to describe the characteristic quality of the works that satisfied each period. In this *History* and its companion volume on the later American drama and in recent annals and editions of plays we have the groundwork well laid for the history of the American drama. Is it not time for us to go beyond the groundwork and begin the interpretation?

Examine carefully the copy you buy. The publishers have let some copies out with as many as sixteen of the first fifty pages either missing or misplaced.

GEORGE R. KERNODLE,
On leave, *Western Reserve University*

Index to Plays in Collections: By JOHN H. OTTEMILLER. New York, H. W. Wilson Co., 1943; pp. xi + 130. $2.50.

John H. Ottemiller, of Brown University Library, has compiled a book bearing the title *Index to Plays in Collections*. This book includes lists of all full-length plays to be found in both play anthologies and collections of literature which have been published from 1900 through 1942. Nearly 4000 plays by 890 authors in 327 collections are listed.

The book is divided into three lists or indexes: an alphabetical list of play collections and anthologies with all plays included in each collection; an author index with dates and variant and translated titles of all the author's plays appearing in these anthologies; and a title index.

The book has many uses: it is a complete, accurate guide to play collections; it facilitates the location of a play whether the searcher has a knowledge of only the author, the title, or the title in translation; it will serve as an excellent reference book for any library; it shows at a glance where duplicate copies of plays (for class assignments or study) may be found; it verifies and identifies author's titles, and production dates; and it should be useful as a guide to teachers and librarians who are considering the purchase of play anthologies and collections.

Several days after receiving the book, this reviewer was making out a list of readings for a class and wished to include William Archer's "The Green Goddess." He had forgotten where the play could be found. He picked up this book which he had never opened before; glanced at the first page which is headed "Directions For Use"; discovered that the play was produced in 1921 and has been included in five play collections, two of which are in his library. Within five minutes he acquired informaton which, without the book, would have taken several hours of his time.

Plays in Collections was designed for a limited and specialized field; within this field it fulfills its purpose completely.

ALLEN CRAFTON, *University of Kansas*

The Fight for Freedom: College Readings in Wartime. Edited by ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS and GABRIEL M. LIEGEY. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1943; pp. xi + 332. $1.50.

This volume is a collection of thirty-three documents that illustrate "the fight for freedom," from the Declaration of Independence to Willkie's *One World*. Eleven of these documents are speeches: one each from Washington, Theodore Roosevelt, Lippmann, Franklin Roosevelt, Churchill, Erskine, and Macaulay, and two each from Lincoln and Wilson. While most of them are as familiar as the Gettysburg Address, all of them are well chosen to support the title of this book. In addition to the main body of material are four essays on the use of words and five samples of expository writing. The usual questions and essay topics accompany each selection. As a collection of materials illustrating "the fight for freedom" the volume is well-ordered; it makes good reading; pleasing typography makes it easy reading.

The chief limitation is apparent in the announced purpose of the volume. The editors allege that it is designed for "English courses in reading, writing, and speaking," and "to be coordinated with a course in American history," but, to put the matter simply, these multi-course pretensions cannot be encompassed successfully in a single volume of this size. The rhetorician and historian, at least, will know source books which are more comprehensive, more useful, and still within the same low price range. Certainly the volume is inadequate for courses in speech: two-thirds of the documents are essays; none of the essays on technique bears directly upon speaking; and the "questions" indicate no recognition of the basic differences between written and spoken style. It is a pleasant surprise to discover incidental comments on Leonard Wood's speaking in the excerpt from Hermann Hagedorn's biography, but it is disappointing to find Wilson analyzed only in a comptometer-commentary on his written style. The moral of it all would seem to be that when one attempts a collection of materials for student study he should limit his purpose; only buckshot will hit courses in reading, writing, speaking, and American history.

J. JEFFERY AUER, *Oberlin College*

IN THE PERIODICALS

DORIS G. YOAKAM, *Editor*

RHETORIC, PUBLIC ADDRESS, AND RADIO

Anonymous, "Stump Speaking and Fence Mending," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXXVIII (October, 1943), 63-69.

A glimpse into the meetings, conventions and celebrations of the colorful Missouri election campaigns of the 1840's is to be found in this magazine under the general heading of "Missouriana."

FRIEDRICH, CARL J., and EVELYN STERNBERG, "Congress and the Control of Radio-Broadcasting," *The American Political Science Review*, XXXVII (October, 1943), 797-818.

The author, in part one of a two installment article, explains how congress has functioned in the control of radio broadcasting, and suggests ways of improving congressional relations with the Federal Communications Commission.

GILBURT, SAMUEL G., "Radio Appreciation: A Plea and a Program," *The English Journal*, XXXII (October, 1943), 431-435.

Standards for radio listening and for radio reaction are just beginning to evolve, according to the author of this article. There is a definite need for radio appreciation courses and instruction.

LAMBERT, GERARD B., and HADLEY CANTRIL, "Informing the Public: A Test Case," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, VII (Fall, 1943), 457-465.

On the home front the public information policy has been crippled because of a lack of careful planning. This article gives information regarding a test case, in a typical American city, which shows what can be done to inform the public about the facts of wartime living.

MCCALLISTER, RALPH, and ROBERT A. LUKE, "Chicago Block Discussion Program," *Adult Education Journal*, II (October, 1943), 170-172.

The Morale Department of the Chicago Office of Civilian Defense has as one of its responsibilities the planning of a program of community discussion meetings, organized "at the block level."

READ, EVELYN PLUMMER, "Broadcasting History: The Story of the Story Behind the Lines," *Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History*, I (October, 1943), 161-188.

This article describes the activities of the radio committee of the American Historical Association, which has carried on, in cooperation with NBC, the work of preparing programs of information which purpose to result in "more thoughtful citizenry, participating more intelligently in democratic processes, and ultimately in a better and more durable world order."

ZONDERVAN, RICHARD, "The Belgian Broadcasting Services at War," *Belgium*, IV (October, 1943), 394-397.

The Belgian Broadcasting Services have managed to escape German oppression and have rebuilt their organization beyond the reach of the enemy. Radio stations carry on from Leopoldville, Belgian Congo, Africa, from London and from New York.

DAVIES, DANIEL R., "Our Philosophy Built Stage Scenery," *The English Journal*, XXXII (November, 1943), 515-516.

A plan of acquiring stage sets and equipment for a school theatre is described in this article.

DOWNER, ALAN S., "The Private Papers of George Spelvin," *The Players Magazine*, XX (October, 1943), 9, 20, 22.

This article, second of a series of six devoted to a discussion of the art of the actor, deals with Junius Brutus Booth.

Editorial, "The Mood of This War," *The Christian Century*, LX (November 10, 1943), 1294-1296.

In comparison with the First World War, the present conflict is being waged without deep emotion. There is an absence of poetry and music, and only a minimum of religious emotion is being expressed.

FERGUSSON, FRANCIS, "James's Idea of Dramatic Form," *The Kenyon Review*, V (Autumn, 1943), 495-507.

Henry James's plays and his attitudes toward drama are analyzed in this article.

FINLETTER, GRETCHEN, "The Always Ready Club," *The Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXII (October, 1943), 77-80.

Some thirty years ago, in Miss Spence's school, a class in elocution was a part of the program of each student. Among the requirements of the course was the learning of a minimum of sixteen lines a week, and the ability, upon call, to recite three poems "without a single mistake, and *with expression.*"

GLICKSBERG, CHARLES I., "Symbolism in Proletarian Poetry," *Prairie Schooner*, XVII (Fall, 1943), 181-188.

The Proletarian poet uses words as inducements to make men realize their power over their social environment. He has a definite attitude toward the world and a dynamic conception of his function in it.

HUTCHENS, JOHN K., "Radio Showman," *Theatre Arts*, XXVII (November, 1943), 657-662.

This article presents notes on the career of William S. Paley, President of Columbia Broadcasting System.

JEKELS, LUDWIG, "The Riddle of Shakespeare's Macbeth," *The Psychoanalytic Review*, XXX (October, 1943), 361-385.

A physician discusses the character of Macbeth and its implications.

SISTER ROSE MARIE, "Poetry in the Twilight of the Classics," *College English*, V (October, 1943), 25-30.

This analysis of the classical background of poetry is made in answer to an inquiry as to what cultural aftermath will follow the present tendency toward disappearance of the classics from the American scheme of education.

SPENCER, THEODORE, "Antaeus or Poetic Language and the Actual World," *E L H*, X (September, 1943), 173-192.

What is the relationship of diction and poetry? The modern poet should remember the advice of Coleridge that works of imagination should be written in very plain language.

STALLMAN, ROBERT, "A Selective Bibliography on the Criticism of Poetry," *The University Review*, X (Autumn, 1943), 65-71.

This bibliography lists the critical writings of the poet-critics and the scholar-critics of England and America since 1920.

STENSLAND, PER G., "Dan Anderson, Pilgrim and Poet," *The American-Scandinavian Review*, XXXI (September, 1943), 248-252.

Dan Anderson, great Labor poet of Sweden, is closer to the hearts of the people than many unknown folk poets.

WADE, ROBERT J., "Electicism in the Stalls," *The Players Magazine*, XX (October, 1943), 7-8.

This article describes Emerson College barn theatre, and gives details about the interior of the building.

WANGER, WALTER, "The Motion Picture in the Fight for Freedom," *Free World*, VI (November, 1943), 443-447.

The author tells of the motion picture industry's special war services, and emphasizes that "of all the three mediums of communication so highly developed by the people of the United States—the press, the radio and the motion picture—the motion picture is the most democratic and far reaching."

SPEECH SCIENCE

Anonymous, "How to Handle Sound Jobs,"

Radio Retailing Today, XXVIII (October, 1943), 50-51, 56.

This article gives a lesson in how to use a microphone of a public address system from the "sound" point of view.

BURKLE, FREDERICK M., "On the Spot with a Walkie-Talkie," *Q S T*, XXVII (November, 1943), 23-25.

The writer tells of his experience with portable radio equipment and offers suggestions for the improvement of these transmitting and receiving sets.

BUTLER, FRANK E., "Techniques of Sound Recording," *Radio News*, XXX (November, 1943), 21-23, 94, 96, 98.

Radio's use of sound recording techniques and equipment in present day broadcasting is versatile.

CHAPMAN, EARLE M., and AVRAM GOLDSTEIN, "The Physics of Sound with Particular Relation to Examination of the Patient," *The Journal of Laboratory and Clinical Medicine*, XXVIII (October, 1943), 1535-1541.

The physics of sound is explained for the medical student because of its importance in diagnostic procedures.

CULLER, ELMER, *et. al.*, "A Revised Frequency-Map of the Guinea-Pig Cochlea," *The American Journal of Psychology*, LVI (October, 1943), 475-500.

This study summarizes experiments attempting to determine peripheral acoustic system reaction to the audible frequencies which are impressed upon it.

DEXTER, GUY, "Industrial Applications of the Oscilloscope," *Radio News*, XXX (November, 1943), 40-41, 66, 69.

Successful uses of the oscilloscope "point to other applications of this electro-optical equipment for studying various other kinds of vibrational or pressure phenomena."

GILKINSON, HOWARD, "The Seashore Measures of Musical Talent and Speech Skill," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XXVII (October, 1943), 443-447.

An experiment involving 377 students in beginning speech courses at the University of Minnesota, 1940-41, showed a low order of relationship between the Seashore scores and skill in speech. The practical use of the test in diagnosing speech is to be questioned.

KRYTER, KARL D., and HARLOW W. ADES, "Studies on the Function of the Higher Acoustic Nervous Centers in the Cat," *The American Journal of Psychology*, LVI (October, 1943), 501-536.

This article gives information concerning a survey of auditory function as mediated by the various cortical and subcortical integrative mechanisms.

MCCORD, CAREY P., and JOHN D. GOODELL, "The Abatement of Noise," *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, CXXIII (October 23, 1943), 476-480.

Endurance of noise is no longer a virtue because relief from it is now procurable.

MCLAREN, JOHN W., "Kymography and its Application to Oesophageal Movement," *The British Journal of Radiology*, XVI (September, 1943), 270-273.

A technique that overcomes the obstacles involved in analysis of esophageal action is described in this article.

MEANS, J. H., "Some New Approaches to the Physiology of the Thyroid," *Annals of Internal Medicine*, XIX (October, 1943), 567-586.

The thyroid gland is not only a factory but also a storage warehouse. An understanding of thyroid function must include knowledge of the physiology of the thyroid hormone.

MOLLMAN, A. H., "The Underlying Principles of the 'Changing' Boy Voice," *Educational Music Magazine*, XXIII (September-October, 1943), 20-22, 57.

A physician describes the voice mechanism and gives advice to music educators on the use of voice during puberty.

SIMONSON, ERNEST, *et. al.*, "The Influence of Muscular Work and Fatigue on the State

of the Central Nervous System," *The Journal of Laboratory and Clinical Medicine*, XXVIII (October, 1943), 1555-1567.

Fifty-four subjects were used in an experiment dealing with different types of work and fatigue. The author believes that "the reciprocal relationship between muscular fatigue and fatigue of the central nervous system has theoretical interest and practical application."

PHONETICS AND SPEECH USAGE

FUNKE, ERICH, "Phonetics and Recent Developments in Language Study," *The Modern Language Journal*, XXVII (October, 1943), 419-425.

This article delineates the development of phonetics as an applied and an experimental science in the various fields of language study and of language teaching.

H.G.L., "Otto Jespersen," *The American-Scandinavian Review*, XXXI (September, 1943), 240-241.

This is an obituary of a great grammarian, philologist, and phonetician.

MOSSEL, MAX N., "Words, Words Everywhere But—," *American Annals of the Deaf*, LXXXVIII (September, 1943), 258-269.

Too great a lack in vocabulary prevents adequate expression of thought just as it hinders comprehension in reading. How will a course in vocabulary building aid the deaf child?

OSTROW, ALBERT A., "Service Men's Slang," *The American Mercury*, LVII (November, 1943), 552-556.

Illustrations of army lingo are listed and explained in this article.

SANTEE, J. F., "Perplexing Vernaculars," *The Social Studies*, XXXIV (October, 1943), 265-268.

Preparedness includes a study of the Japanese language.

TRAGER, GEORGE L., "The Kinship and Status Terms of the Tiwa Languages," *American Anthropologist*, XLV (October-December, 1943), 557-571.

The purpose of the author is to make available a collection of linguistically correct material on the kinship and status terms of the four Tiwa languages.

PSYCHOLOGY AND PATHOLOGY OF SPEECH

Anonymous, "Psychiatry at the Cross-Roads," *British Medical Journal*, No. 4314 (September 11, 1943), 331-332.

The future of psychiatry is of fundamental importance to all fields of medicine.

BALKEN, EVA RUTH, "Psychological Researches in Schizophrenic Language and Thought," *The Journal of Psychology*, XVI (October, 1943), 153-176.

The author deals with analysis of the psychological researches made in schizophrenic language and thought.

BENCZUR, HELEN, "Psychological Trauma of Hereditary Disease," *Medical Woman's Journal*, L (September, 1943), 229-232.

The physically handicapped person's psychological reactions to trouble show his vulnerability to maladjustment. Proper psychiatric care aids in alleviation and prevention.

DAVIS, ALLISON, "Racial Status and Personality Development," *The Scientific Monthly*, LXII (October, 1943), 354-362.

Personality is such a complex aspect of human behavior that it is completely erroneous to assume, as does "modern mythology," that a man's behavior can be predicted upon the basis of his physical appearance and attributed to his racial inheritance.

DODDS, G. E., "A Case Showing Partial Deficient Fusion of a Maxillary Process with Lateral Nasal Process on One Side," *The British Journal of Ophthalmology*, XXVII (September, 1943), 414-415.

The case of an unusual congenital nasal cleft is described in this article. Suggestions for correction are given.

GOLDSTEIN, KURT, "On So-Called War Neuroses," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, V (October, 1943), 376-383.

War neuroses should be considered as

"anxiety states and conversional states due to war situations." The "nervous breakdown" caused by war events differs in character from genuine neurosis.

GRAHAM, MARION F. F., ". . . and the Deaf Hear!" *Hygeia,* XXI (November, 1943), 802-803, 886.

This article was written especially to give counsel to those who are just beginning to have to make the emotional adjustments necessitated by gradual loss of hearing. It emphasizes the importance of a preparedness program for progressive hearing loss.

HARRIMAN, PHILIP LAWRENCE, "A New Approach to Multiple Personalities," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* XIII (October, 1943), 638-643.

Aspects of behavior which are often referred to as dual personality traits may be induced by skilled techniques of suggestion.

HEATH, C. W., *et. al.,* "Personnel Selection: A Short Method for Selection of Combat Officers," *Annals of Internal Medicine,* XIX (September, 1943), 415-426.

Speech habits are considered in classifying personality and physical fitness traits of prospective combat officers.

HIGLEY, L. B., "The Proper Time to Begin Orthodontic Treatment," *The Journal of the American Dental Association,* XXX (September 1, 1943), 1329-1343.

Early orthodontic treatment is preferable in spite of the objections that may be advanced.

HUNT, HOWARD F., "A Practical Clinical Test for Organic Brain Damage," *Journal of Applied Psychology,* XXVII (October, 1943), 375-386.

Testing for the presence of concomitant intellectual deterioration is an aid in detecting brain damage.

HUNT, WILLIAM A., and HARRY J. OLDER, "Detection of Malingering Through Psychometric Tests," *United States Naval Medical Bulletin,* XLI (September, 1943), 1318-1323.

The authors of this article present an evaluation of tests used in the Navy to detect malingering.

JACOBSON, EDMUND, "Muscular Tension and the Smoking of Cigarettes," *The American Journal of Psychology,* LVI (October, 1943), 559-574.

This article reports reasons given by smokers for smoking, and gives results of an experiment in which the smoking of cigarettes produced "no marked immediate effect on muscular tension."

RICHTER, HELEN G., "Emotional Disturbances of Constant Pattern Following Nonspecific Respiratory Infections," *The Journal of Pediatrics,* XXIII (September, 1943), 315-325.

The author describes emotional disturbances manifested in twelve children in association with upper respiratory infections.

SCARFF, JOHN E., "Recovery of Speech Following the Evacuation of Subcortical Haematoma—Report of Three Cases," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine,* XXXVI (June, 1943), 405-406.

The course of aphasia in three cases of acute traumatic subcortical haematoma is reported upon in this article. In each case a complete recovery of speech followed surgical evacuation of the blood clot.

SCHALL, LEROY A., "Carcinoma of the Larynx," *The New England Journal of Medicine,* CCXXIX (October 7, 1943), 574-576.

The larynx is involved in from two to five per cent of all cases of cancer. No other internal organ of the human body can be so easily examined and no other internal organ shows symptoms of cancer so early.

SCHWEISHEIMER, WALDEMAR, "The Musician and the Common Cold," *The Etude Music Magazine,* LXI (November, 1943), 700, 760.

Famous singers have used various methods to combat the common cold. The author, a physician, adds his own recommendations.

SLIGHT, DAVID, "Psychiatric Problems in

Adolescence," *The Illinois Medical Journal*, LXXXIV (October, 1943), 255-259.

The author analyzes the various kinds of psychiatric disorders and tells of their occurrence during adolescence.

STRAITH, CLAIRE LEROY, and HENRY S. PATTON, "Bilateral Congenital Mucous Cysts in Three Generations," *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, CXXIII (November 13, 1943), 693-694.

Characteristics of bilateral harelips and cleft palates, and of additional hypertrophied mucous cysts in three generations of one family are reviewed in this article.

TOLMAN, EDWARD C., "A Drive-Conversion Diagram," *Psychological Review*, L (September, 1943), 503-513.

It is the purpose of the author to "attempt to schematize the inter-connections between the basic biological drives, the derived social techniques and also between these and certain types of final behavior-propensity."

VALENTINE, CRISTINA, "Among the Deaf in Central America," *The Volta Review*, XLV (October, 1943), 549-553, 604.

Character sketches of deaf persons met by the author during a recent visit in Guatemala, and description of a new school for the deaf in this country make up the content of this article.

VAN NOSTRAND, F. H., "Three Years of Neuropsychiatry in the Canadian Army (Overseas)," *The Canadian Medical Association Journal*, XLIX (October, 1943), 295-301.

This article begins a delineation of the work done in the Canadian army in neuropsychiatry, and emphasizes the organization and administration of such services.

VIERHELLER, PHIL. G., "Bite Raising in a Case of Acromegaly," *The Dental Digest*, XLIX (September, 1943), 385-387.

Voice changes are noticeable in acromegaly due to the enlarging of the sinuses and other areas. Orthodontia can aid in straightening the jaw if the disease has been arrested, as is illustrated in the case described in this article.

VOELKER, CHARLES H., "Post-Therapy Observations on Over Two Thousand Subjects with Speech Defects," *Archives of Otolaryngology*, XXXVIII (September, 1943), 261-264.

This article attempts a prediction of what physicians may expect in the way of results when they refer patients to a clinic for speech therapy.

VOELKER, CHARLES H., "War Injuries to the Speech Tract," *Medical Record*, CLVI (September, 1943), 545.

The author emphasizes the fact that the speech tract is especially vulnerable to the mechanical injuries suffered in the present war.

SPEECH PEDAGOGY

ADAMS, HARLEN M., "Audio-Visual Aids for the Language Arts," *The Elementary English Review*, XX (November, 1943), 257-264.

A unified program covering writing, reading and speaking is needed in the teaching of language arts. The teaching of speech for social communication can be greatly improved by the use of audio-visual aids.

BALGLEY, FRANCES. "Communication Through the Arts," *Education*, LXIV (October, 1943), 111-112.

The author tells of the service functions carried on in different areas of the communicative arts.

BROWN, HELEN MARTIN, "When the Child Begins to Speak," *Hygeia*, XXI (September, 1943), 676-679.

Suggestions are offered in this article for helping children to become conversationally adequate.

CULKIN, MABEL LOUISE, "The Contemporary Kindergarten," *The Educational Record*, XXIV (October, 1943), 345-357.

Included in this article is a discussion of the skills and knowledge a child should gain in the kindergarten.

DAILEY, JOHN T., "The Subnormal Child—Education for Social Living," *Texas State Journal of Medicine*, XXXIX (October, 1943), 352-353.

A retarded child can make satisfactory adjustments for living and effective adaptations to society in spite of a low I.Q.

DE BRUYN, JOHN W., "The Voice Teacher and the Speaking Voice," *The Etude Music Magazine,* LXI (November, 1943), 713, 748, 763.

The author of this article contends that the teacher of music has a right to consider the training of the speaking voice a legitimate field of activity because of the useful contribution he can make in improving speech.

GARDNER, WARREN H., "A Hearing Program for the Public Health Nurse," *Public Health Nursing,* XXXV (September, 1943), 507-511.

The Public Health nurse can be of great help to the otherwise overlooked hard of hearing child. Included in this article are reports on statistics concerning the hard of hearing, and results of conservation of hearing programs.

GIBIAN, ROSE, "Teaching the Deaf," *Hygeia,* XXI (October, 1943), 710-711, 764-767.

Schools that specialize in the teaching of the deaf are described in this article. Emphasis is placed on the importance of speech reading and speech training for the deaf.

JERSILD, ARTHUR T., and MARGARET F. MEIGS, "Children and War," *Psychological Bulletin,* XL (October, 1943), 541-573.

A study of literature concerning the impact of war on children reveals that there are more mere pronouncements than reports of systematic, scientific data.

JOHNSON, CLYDE W., "A Survey of Acoustic Training Programs and Accomplishments in the Public Residential Schools for the Deaf," *American Annals of the Deaf,* LXXXVIII (September, 1943), 279-295.

This article reports on a questionnaire which was submitted to 65 schools in order to collect information on effectiveness of acoustic training of the hard of hearing.

HILLBRAND, EARL K., "Teaching Wartime Telephone Manners," *The Clearing House,* XVIII (October, 1943), 107-108.

Suggestions are given in this article on the teaching of good telephone habits as an aid to the war effort.

KARP, MARK, "Silent Before Oral Reading," *The Elementary School Journal,* XLIV (October, 1943), 102-104.

There is argument among teachers as to how silent and oral reading should be taught, and as to which should be given first. There is agreement on the importance of both silent and oral reading in the preparation of children for present and future living.

KIMBALL, EMILY, "Speech Training for Every Student," *The English Journal,* XXXII (November, 1943), 514-515.

A Menasha, Wisconsin, High School teacher gives advice to the magazine's "Round Table" on how to stimulate speech consciousness among students.

LAURITSEN, WESLEY, "Lauguage Teaching—The Greatest Thing," *American Annals of the Deaf,* LXXXVIII (September, 1943), 296-299.

Nothing can be taken for granted in teaching language to the deaf. It must be remembered that to the deaf child English is usually what a foreign language is to the average person.

LEMON, BABETTE K., and G. T. BUSWELL, "Oral and Written Expression in Grade IX," *The School Review,* LI (November, 1943), 544-549.

Should a teacher expect the same proficiency in oral as in written language? A study of spontaneous language habits in conversation (made possible by making dictaphone records of which the students were unaware), and a comparison of these with written samples made by the same students is reported upon in this article.

LEONARD, EMILY C., "Radio Transcriptions in Upper Grade English," *The Elementary English Review,* XX (November, 1943), 268-272.

Transcriptions of radio programs are helpful aids in teaching.

LINDBERG, LUCILE, "I Confront My Children," *Understanding the Child*, XII (October, 1943), 15-18.

A Clayton, Missouri, seventh-grade teacher, in trying to help further "the mental and emotional health of a 'fairly normal' group of boys and girls," plans among other things to give more opportunities to the children to talk, and to make more use of creative dramatics.

MILLER, NATHAN A., "Using the Recorder in Oral Remedial Reading," *The English Journal*, XXXII (November, 1943), 510-511.

This article, appearing in the "Round Table" section of the magazine, tells of the values of using the recording machine in helping poor readers. The recording machine is of special service in diagnosing and in creating and sustaining interest in oral reading.

MYKELBUST, HELMER R., "The Use of Individual Hearing Aids in a Residential School for the Deaf," *American Annals of the Deaf*, LXXXVIII (September, 1943), 270-278.

The author reports on an experiment carried on with hearing aids in the New Jersey School for the Deaf, in which he sought to determine the value of individual hearing aids.

ODOM, CHARLES L., "An Objective Determination of the Qualities of a Good College Teacher," *Peabody Journal of Education*, XXI (September, 1943), 109-116.

Twelve qualities serve as basic characteristics which distinguish a good college teacher from an inferior one.

PALZER, EDWARD, "Building a Good Speech Program," *The Nation's Schools*, XXXII (October, 1943), 27-28.

The social needs of individual pupils must be considered in the planning of any speech program.

POWER, RHODA, "Radio Breaks Down Classroom Walls," *The School Executive*, LXIII (November, 1943), 37.

War economy points toward wider use of the radio as an educational instrument.

SANFORD, R. NEVITT, "Psychological Approaches to the Young Delinquent," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, VII (September-October, 1943), 223-229.

An understanding of the psychological needs of the individual and of the psychologically relevant attributes of the environment is essential in studying the behavior of delinquent children.

STASNEY, KATHRYN, "Language Drills from Radio Thrills," *The Elementary English Review*, XX (November, 1943), 264-268.

Methods of using radio to advantage in teaching language skills are outlined in this article.

WALLIN, J. E. WALLACE, "Delaware Cares for its Handicapped," *The School Executive*, LXIII (November, 1943), 46-47.

The Director of Special Education and Mental Hygiene, Delaware Department of Public Instruction, describes the running of special classes for the handicapped of this State.

WEPMAN, JOSEPH M., "A Speech Correction Technique," *The Crippled Child*, XXI (October, 1943), 75, 83-84.

The author presents a new technique for helping with the improvement of spastic speech. The attention of the spastic is directed away from his speech, and the muscular overflow away from the muscles used in phonation and articulation.

WILLIAMS, HELEN DAVAULT, "'Getting on with the War' Through the Speech Choir," *The English Journal*, XXXII (November, 1943), 506-509.

This article tells how speech choir activities may be organized to fit the moods and emotional needs of these war days.

WILSON, FRANK T., "Stories that are Liked by Young Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, LXIII (September, 1943), 55-69.

Preferential selections made by young children, by high school and college students, and by parents of young children direct the author of this article in listing titles of favorite stories.

NEWS AND NOTES

RUTH P. KENTZLER, *Editor*

(Please send items of interest for this department directly to MISS KENTZLER, MADISON USO, MADISON, WISCONSIN.)

In the *New York Times*, October 24, 1943, appeared the results of an investigation taken to determine valuable courses in the college curriculum. The investigation was done under the direction of Albert Broadus Newman, formerly an industrial chemical engineer and now Dean of the School of Technology in the College of the City of New York. The *Times* report of the investigation is as follows: "PUBLIC SPEAKING FAVORED. COURSE MOST USEFUL OF ALL, POLL AT CITY COLLEGE SHOWS.

"A course in public speaking is of more use to an engineer than any single technical subject in the university curriculum, according to a poll of recent City College School of Technology graduates. . . .

"Made public yesterday by Dean Albert B. Newman, the survey was conducted by Pi Tau Sigma, honorary scholastic fraternity. Questionnaires asking for ratings of courses were sent to men graduated during the last two years and who are now employed in war industry or are with the armed forces.

"Because of its value in 'conveying to the layman highly technical information in lucid, persuasive language,' and because of the poise it develops, public speaking was judged by the alumni to be the most important course offered. . . ."

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Last autumn appeared Number 1, Volume 1, of *Etc.: A Review of General Semantics*, "official organ of the Society for General Semantics . . . devoted to the encouragement of scientific research and theoretical inquiry into Non-Aristotelian systems. . . . Issued four times a year. . . . $3.00 a year. Business and Editorial Offices: Illinois Institute of Technology, 3300 Federal Street, Chicago 16, Illinois."

The Editor is S. I. Hayakawa. The Consulting Editors are Alfred Korzybski and M. Kendig. Among the Associates are Wendell Johnson, State University of Iowa; and Irving J. Lee, Captain in the United States Army, now on leave from Northwestern University.

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Likewise, in November appeared Number 1, Volume 1, of *The Bulletin of the Ohio College Association of Teachers of Speech*, under the editorship of James N. Holm, Kent State University: 9 pages mimeographed, containing the Ohio Speech Calendar for 1943-44, news of members in the armed forces, changes in the Ohio faculties, forensic news, drama news, personal news, and two brief articles.

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At least 18 of the 35 members of the Debating Association of Pennsylvania Colleges will continue debating activities during this academic year, according to a survey reported by Harold P. Zelko, the Executive Secretary.

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Joyce R. Gregory, formerly of West High School, Minneapolis, and now an American Red Cross club worker in Sicily, is assistant producer of a musical extravaganza, *So This is Sicily*, that is now playing in one of the large theatres of a well-known Sicilian city. The national headquarters of the American Red Cross reports that, "It is a show, organized from American Red Cross and GI talent and put together in a fast-moving manner, that would do credit to any $3.30 seat on Broadway. . . . Opening the show is an Engineer band, playing both hot and sweet music. . . . Scene of the show is an American Red Cross club, and the scene never changes, actors and actresses coming and going out of the club in sequence to their appearance on the stage." Apparently the length of run will be limited only by the length of stay of the American Army in Sicily.

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After attempting for eighteen months to get into the armed services, and being turned down by five examining boards because of

a supposedly weak left elbow, J. Jeffery Auer of Oberlin College finally entered the Navy on November 13. Two days before induction he wrote, "My departure leaves at least a couple of article-ideas locked in the vault until I return. As soon as I read Aly's article in the October issue of the JOURNAL ["The History of American Public Address as a Research Field"], with its query as to the effect of humor on Mark Twain, Private John Allen, and Tom Corwin, I started to block out an article on the latter subject. Corwin's story does not prove any thesis, but. . . ."

Meanwhile, his article previously written on "Tom Corwin: 'King of the Stump'" appears in this issue of the JOURNAL.

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Warren A. Guthrie and John W. Crawford of Western Reserve now both hold the rank of lieutenant (j.g.) in the Navy.

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Arthur L. Kaltenborn of Wooster is now a second lieutenant in the Army.

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Upton Palmer of Bowling Green, Ohio, is a first lieutenant in the Army Air Force.

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Vincent J. Jukes of Ohio University is an Ensign in the Navy.

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Among the new members of the speech staff in Ohio University are Christopher Lane, formerly of Michigan State, Elizabeth Andersch of Iowa, and Denton Snyder of Northwestern.

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Charles Neimeyer, formerly of Ohio University, is now at Texas State College for Women.

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Foster Harmon, formerly director of dramatics in Indiana University, is now on the speech staff in Wittenburg. He is also connected with radio station WIEZ in Springfield, Ohio.

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McDonald Held, formerly of Miami University, is now at Northwestern, and Homer N. Abegglen has returned to Miami after a year of graduate study in Northwestern.

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Cole S. Brembeck is now in charge of speech at Manchester College. He will direct the annual Manchester Debate Tournament.

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Howard C. Morgan of Earlham College, Executive Secretary of the Intercollegiate Peace Association, is now Secretary-Treasurer of the National Collegiate Players.

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Howard C. Hansen has returned to Kent State University after teaching speech in an Army training school last year in St. Louis.

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Edwin Duerr resigned from Carnegie Tech August last, and is now in New York City where he is directing *The Aldrich Family* on the radio.

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Ralph H. Schmidt, formerly head of the Department of Speech in Jamestown College, North Dakota, is now teaching speech to the Army trainees in Lafayette College. He replaces Robert Breen who is now in the Army.

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Ernest Hardin is the new Chairman of the Department of Speech in the University of Texas. He succeeds Ellwood Griscom who died last May.

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Howard Townsend is now teaching the courses in oratory and history of American oratory formerly taught by Professor Griscom. Professor Townsend was on leave during 1941-1942, studying and teaching in the University of Wisconsin.

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Thomas A. Rousse, on leave from the University of Texas, is now a major in the Air Corps, stationed at Randolph Field, San Antonio. His place on the staff is being filled by Edd Miller.

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The University of Texas Department of Speech has established a speech clinic and added courses in speech correction to its curriculum. The work is under the direction of Jesse Villarreal who has done work in correction in Northwestern University. He is assisted by Graydon L. Ausmus and Grover Fuchs, recent additions to the faculty. Professor Ausmus has done work at Wisconsin and Professor Fuchs at Northwestern. One portion of the speech correction work, directed by Professor Villarreal himself, is that of serving Latin-American

students who have not yet mastered English.

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The Department of Drama in the University of Texas is offering for the first time a course in radio drama. It is being taught by Graydon Ausmus of the Department of Speech.

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The following members of the Department of Speech and Drama at Stanford are in service: Lee Chapin, lieutenant in the Navy; Waldemar Johansen, director of training aids, Pilot School, Santa Ana, California; Charles Vance, lieutenant in the Army Special Services, in the South Pacific; Hazel Brain, with the American Red Cross as Assistant Program Director.

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To its staff the department at Stanford has added the following: Harlem M. Adams, formerly head of the Department of Speech in Chico State College; Charles Loma, formerly of the University of Pittsburgh; Hestor Proctor, Supervisor of Drama in the San Francisco Recreational Department; David Sollars, University of Idaho; and George J. Peavey, formerly head of Course Studies at the Colorado River War Relocation Project, Poston, Arizona.

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The new head of the Department of Speech in the University of Utah, to succeed Joseph F. Smith resigned, is C. Lowell Lees. Professor Lees comes from the University of Minnesota where he was Director of the University Theatre.

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Wilson B. Paul, University of Denver, has been elected Executive Secretary of the Denver Adult Education Council. He is, however, retaining his chairmanship of the Speakers Bureau of the Denver Council and is continuing as Director of Forensics in the University of Denver.

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LaVage Hunt Richardson, who received his Ph.D. from the University of Southern California, is now a lieutenant in the Marines. At last report he was stationed in New River, North Carolina.

Charles E. Weniger, on leave from Pacific Union College, is working on his Doctorate in the University of Southern California. During the summer he worked on early nineteenth century American public address in Washington, D.C., and in New England. Acting head of the Department of Speech, English, and Journalism during his absence from Pacific Union in Charles D. Utt.

• • •

The semiannual meeting of the New Jersey Association of Teachers of Speech was held in the Hotel New Yorker on November 12 with the following program:

Aristide D'Angelo, American Academy of Dramatic Art, "The Technique of Directing and Acting."

Letitia Raubicheck, Director of Speech Improvment of the City of New York, "Speech Correction in a Large Public School System."

Ben Grauer, NBC announcer for "Information Please," etc., "Aspects of the Radio Industry as Affected by Modern Speech."

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From North Africa Captain James H. Parke reports opening a theatre in a bombed-out town in Tunisia three days after the North African campaign ended. Bed sheets were used as curtains because the Arabs had cut down the moving picture screen to make clothes. Another show he directed was built around a Negro swing orchestra; and on July 4 he produced an Inter-Allied Show for American, British, and French troops.

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Ellwood Griscom, late Chairman of the Department of Speech in the University of Texas, who died on May 15, 1943, had served continuously in the speech department of that institution from 1913 to 1943 excepting for three years, 1916-1919, spent on the faculty of Williams College. During one year, 1926-27, he was on leave of absence and served on the faculty of the "Floating University" on its round-the-world cruise.

He was long a member of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS OF SPEECH, was a vice-president in 1925 and again in 1936. "Devoid of petty prejudices, truly open-minded, and possessed of a keen, analytical mind, he was an outstanding teacher. . . ."

AMONG THE CONTRIBUTORS

LIONEL CROCKER, *Editor*

H. F. Harding: *Can the Liberal Arts Tradition Survive?* (A.B., Hamilton; Ph.D., Cornell) is on leave from George Washington University, is a colonel in the U. S. Army, and is now stationed in the Pacific Area.

Severina E. Nelson: *An Experimental Military Speech Correction Program* (A.B., M.A., Illinois; Ph.D., Wisconsin) is Assistant Professor of Speech and Director of Speech Clinic in the University of Illinois. She is coauthor of *The Art of Interpretative Speech* (Woolbert and Nelson), and author of "The Role of Heredity in Stuttering," *Journal of Pediatrics,* 1939, and "Personal Contact as a Factor in the Transmission of Stuttering," *Human Biology,* 1939.

D. P. McKelvey: *An Experimental Military Speech Correction Program* (A.B., California; M.A., Southern California; Ph.D., Wisconsin) is Assistant Professor of Speech and Drama in Stanford University. He is responsible for assembling and arranging much of the data upon which this article is based, rather than for the actual preparing of the manuscript.

Naomi W. Hunter: *An Experimental Military Speech Correction Program* (A.B., M.A., Illinois) is Instructor in Speech and Clinical Supervisor in the Speech Clinic of the University of Illinois.

Marjorie L. Walter: *An Experimental Military Speech Correction Program* (A.B., M.A., Illinois) is Assistant in Speech and Laboratory Technician of the Speech Clinic in the University of Illinois.

Earl W. Wiley: *On ASTP, English 111* is Professor of Speech and Acting Chairman of the Department of Speech in Ohio State University.

C. V. Kettering: *Sound Recording in the Postwar School System* (Mus.B., Kansas) has been connected with the Sound Division of the Fairchild Aviation Corporation (formerly Fairchild Aerial Camera Corporation) since 1934. He directed college music departments of eighteen years, and made use of sound recording equipment in the teaching of voice from 1928 on. His recording experience in college music, speech, and modern language departments in more than 30 states is unique.

Bower Aly: *The Rhetoric of Semantics* is Associate Professor of Speech and Director of Forensics in the University of Missouri, and is President of THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS OF SPEECH.

Elwood Murray: *The Semantics of Rhetoric* (A.B., Hastings; M.A., Ph.D., Iowa) is Chairman, Department of Speech and Dramatic Arts, University of Denver. He is author of *The Speech Personality,* and for studies in personality, human relations, and semantic aspects of speech in *Speech Monographs,* the QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, the *Journal of Higher Education.* He is a past-president of the Western Association of Teachers of Speech.

Kenneth G. Hance: *The Contemporary Lecture Platform* (A.B., Olivet; Ph.D., Michigan) is Assistant Professor of Speech in the University of Michigan. He is coauthor (with James H. McBurney) of *The Principles and Methods of Discussion,* and is the author of articles in the field of public address.

J. Jeffery Auer: *Tom Corwin: "King of the Stump"* (A.B., Wabash; M.A., Wisconsin) is head of the Department of Public Speaking in Oberlin College, author of *Essentials of Parliamentary Procedure* (1940, 1942), coauthor with Henry Lee Ewbank of *Discussion and Debate* (1941), and has contributed articles to THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH and several forensic society publications. He is now on leave from Oberlin College for service in the Navy, and is stationed at Great Lakes, Illinois.

Donald C. Bryant: *Colonel Isaac Barré . . .* (A.B., A.M., Ph.D., Cornell) is an Associate Professor of English, in charge of speech, in Washington University; is author of *Edmund Burke and his Literary Friends* (1939), *Essentials of Oral Communication* (1943), and various articles on Burke and rhetoric in the QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, and is editor of *Papers in Rhetoric* (1940). At present he is Supervisor of English and Speech for the Army courses in Washington University.

Elizabeth Gregory McPherson: . . . *Debates*

of the House . . . First Congress (A.B., Oxford College; A.B., M.A., Ph.D., North Carolina) taught in the public schools of North Carolina, was head of the Department of History, Martha Washington College, 1926-1930, and has been a member of the staff of the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, since 1934. She is author of historical articles published in the *North Carolina Historical Review, William and Mary Quarterly,* and the QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH.

John Dolman: *Jim Dandy, Pioneer* (B.S., M.A., Pennsylvania) is Professor of English and Director of the Summer School in the University of Pennsylvania. He is past-president of the NATS, and past-editor of the QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, and is author of *A Handbook of Public Speaking* and *The Art of Play Production*. For many years he has been active in community theatre work in Swarthmore, Pa., and is a member of the National Theatre Conference.

Barnard Hewitt: *Gordon Craig and Post-Impressionism* (A.B., M.A., Ph.D., Cornell) is Assistant Professor of Speech in Brooklyn College. He is the author of the book *Art and Craft of Play Production* and of magazine articles on the theatre and drama. He has served as New Books Editor of the QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, and is a member of the Advisory Council of AETA. At present he is on special leave (until September, 1944) from Brooklyn, and is serving temporarily as managing editor of *The Evening News,* daily paper, North Tonawanda, New York.

David W. Sievers: *The Play Rehearsal and Its Psychology* (A.B., North Carolina) is Assistant Director of Dramatics in Stanford University, where he also teaches radio. He has recently directed the Stanford Players in *The Wookey, In Time to Come, Charley's Aunt, Squaring the Circle,* and *Hello Out There*. He has acted in New York, in numerous summer theatres, and on the radio; and has done graduate work at the Dramatic Workshop of the New School for Social Research in New York.

Doris G. Yoakam: *Speech Games for Children* (A.B., M.A., Ph.D., Southern California; Graduate work at Wisconsin; Independent study in the School of Medicine, Michigan) is Associate Professor of Speech and Director of the Speech Clinic in Northern Illinois State Teachers College. She is Associate Editor of the QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SPEECH, and contributor to *A History and Criticism of American Public Address*. She has been appointed a member of the Speech Correction Committee of the Medical Advisory Board of the Illinois Commission for Handicapped Children.

Nell Will: *Personality Development of a Thirteen-Year-Old Stuttering Boy*. (A.B., Oklahoma; M.A., Iowa) is a research student in clinical psychology at the State University of Iowa, and was employed for five years in the field of social work. She has done graduate work in child welfare at the University of Minnesota, in social work at The New York School of Social Work and Columbia University, and in General Semantics under Alfred Korzybski of Chicago.

Howard Gilkinson: *Experimental and Statistical Research in General Speech* (M.A., Iowa; Ph.D., Minnesota) has charge of the fundamentals course and military speech instruction in the University of Minnesota, teaches courses in pedagogy and directs graduate research. His *Outlines of Research in General Speech* was published recently by Burgess Company, Minneapolis.

Kenneth Bartlett: *Radio Review for 1943* (A.B., Albion; M.A., Syracuse) is the Acting Director of the Syracuse University School of Extension Teaching and of Adult Education, Director of the Radio Workshop and Assistant Professor of Radio Education. He is the author of *How to Use Radio* published by the National Association of Broadcasters and of numerous articles on radio broadcasting.